DEVELOPING PERSONALITY IN BOYS

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DEVELOPING PERSONALITY IN BOYS

THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE

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BY

W. RYLAND BOORMAN

DIRECTOR OF PROGRAM AND RESEARCH,
CHICAGO BOYS' CLUB

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TO MY FATHER AND MOTHER

WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED SO INTELLIGENTLY
TO THE MAKING
OF MY OWN PERSONALITY

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A number of publishers have been kind enough to grant the permission to quote from copyrighted books in order to make this volume more serviceable. Thanks are due to the following publishers:

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Nothing learned from a book is worth anything until it is used and verified in life.

—Will Durant

INTRODUCTION

For the past quarter of a century or more, the social sciences have been making contributions of distinct value to a more adequate understanding of the adolescent boy. This particular study attempts to present some of the major contributions of social psychology and sociology to this subject. As there is considerable difference between the viewpoints of social psychologists, such as E. A. Ross, William McDougal, Floyd Allport and William I. Thomas, a choice has had to be made among them; and the reader will find that in the main the viewpoint of Thomas has been adopted. He defines social psychology as the "subjective aspect of culture."

The processes whereby a child accommodates himself to a culture and ultimately assimilates it require special study. Any procedure which isolates the boy from his social setting hinders fruitful psychological study of these processes, and creates problems which interfere with the best understanding of adolescence. When at work in the field, the average boys' worker has found psychology, as he studied it in college, to be impractical and ineffectual for this very reason, that it tended to consider the child in a state of isolation from native surroundings, be they the home, gang, playground or school.

It is important to keep in mind that

> a child is not born merely to a father and a mother. He is born to a group, fiercely and definitely prejudiced in custom, belief, and ideal, with ways of doing, feeling and thinking which it seeks to impose on each of its new members. Family, tribe, race, and nation all demand of each accession that he accept their ideals, habits and beliefs on the peril of disapproval and even punishment. And man is so constituted that the approval and even disapproval of his groups mean more to him than his life. The social setting into which each one is born is his social heredity.[1]

The second important phase of adolescence under discussion here is that of the organization, growth, and patterns of personality in the child. This is not essentially new, for the significance of personality in the development of the child is becoming well-nigh universal.

> The conception of personality is probably the most important instrument or working principle in the whole range of psychology. . . . Since every reaction that we perform represents some phase of operation of the person, personality constitutes one of the essential psychological data.[2]

In short, this book may be said to deal with the "energy side" of a boy's development. It seeks to study the product which results from the adjustment going on continuously between internal and external forces. The internal influences belong to the realm of biology and psychology; the external to economics and sociology. To relate, interpret, and reveal the forces engaged and the process of interaction between them as they influence the life of boys is the main object of this book.

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[1] Myerson, Abraham. *The Foundation of Personality,* p. 25.

[2] Kantor, J. R. *Principles of Psychology,* pp. 72, 89.

Too often the concept "personality" is used so loosely that we hardly realize that individuals may each be talking about a different thing. Frederick Thrasher has suggested three uses of the term personality that need to be distinguished.

1. *The Popular.* This is the notion that personality consists of those traits of the individual, more or less vaguely sensed, which enable him to attract attention, hold interest, and get action from others. These are the characteristics—a mixture of what is pleasing and forceful—which win popular favor.

2. *The Behavioristic* (*objective*). This is the conception that personality is the sum and organization of the reaction patterns, both inherited and acquired, belonging to an individual person. These systems of response are revealed in behavior but conserved in some way in the organism. This is essentially a psychological idea of personality.

3. *The Sociological.* This is the definition of personality as a rôle which the individual plays in his group. His personality, in this sense, is a function of the activities of the group into which he fits, and is a product of his struggle for a place and a part in its life. The person, therefore, is the individual placed with reference to all the other individuals in the group, that is, the individual in his social matrix.

Every boy in the gang acquires a personality (in the sociological sense) and a name—is a person; that is, he plays a part and gets a place with reference to other members of the group. In the developed gang he fits into

> the niche like a puzzle box; he is formed by the discipline the gang imposes on him. He cannot be studied intelligently or understood apart from his social rôle.[3]

In addition, social psychology, as here presented, supplies a technique for the analysis of the boy as a person. The term "technique" refers to methods or tools, much like farm implements and methods which are used by the individual to gain proficiency in his work. For instance, some books supply interesting facts about boys, but these contributions should be distinguished from the books which enable a person to use concepts, or techniques, or methods as tools to analyze and to work out their own peculiar problems. The first efforts to use the technique of social psychology may prove no more successful than the early attempts to use farm machinery, but this should not discredit continued efforts.

Finally, this book introduces an intimate type of data about boys, taken from life histories, letters and diaries, in which the identity of the person has been concealed by changing the names and places. A detailed discussion whereby such material can be secured is given in Chapter VI.

> The sociologist has found the behavior document, the life-record, a very useful aid in exploring the situation and determining the sources of maladjustment. It is true that this introspective method has the disadvantages encountered in the taking of legal testimony. . . . Shaw, working with the Juvenile Research Institute in Chicago, has pointed out that some of his subjects prepare dry and objective chronicles, while others are mainly self-justificatory and exculpatory. A document prepared by

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[3] Thrasher, Frederick, *The Gang*, p. 309.

one compensating for a feeling of inferiority or elaborating a delusion of persecution is certainly as far as possible from objective reality. On the other hand, this definition of the situation is from one point of view quite as good as if it were true. It is a representation of the situation as appreciated by the subject, "as if" it were so, and this is for behavior study a most important phase of reality.[4]

At the close of each chapter will be found a variety of suggestions to stimulate additional study. Every home, many vacant lots, and all schools, playgrounds, boy-scout troops, Sunday-school classes, recreation centers are exceedingly interesting laboratories of boy life for those who are aware and have a technique for analyzing what is in process. Boy study should prove highly fascinating as an everyday hobby, accompanied with lots of fun and great value. Many of the projects, which are suggested, relate primarily to library and classroom work, but the author desires to emphasize the strategic position for fruitful research by parents, teachers, church workers, scout masters, and boys' workers generally.

Consequently, this book should appeal to parents who are anxious to discuss what is happening to their own children from the point of view of personality. Neighborhood groups of mothers could profitably consider the more intelligent and effective ways of rearing their boys and girls. Many public- and church-school teachers who are perplexed about the human factor in their work will find abundant clews for helping them tackle the more difficult boys. Professional workers with boys will find this book serviceable in training classes for leaders and adult workers.

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[4] Thomas, W. I. "The Behavior Pattern and the Situation," *Amer. Jour. of Sociology,* Vol. XXII, 1928, p. 6.

The antecedents of the writer's psycho-social point of view are various. The first clew that led to his present position was received at the University of Chicago, from a public lecture by Charles Hubbard Judd, chairman of the Department of Education, who stated that although educational pedagogy in the past had been based on numerous interpretations of individual psychology, the present tendency was decidedly in the direction of social psychology as a foundation to build on. The influence, second in importance, was the reading of such books as *Human Nature and Conduct* by John Dewey, *Human Nature and the Social Order* by Charles Horton Cooley, *The Polish Peasant* by William I. Thomas, and *Folkways* by William Graham Sumner. Finally, and of greatest significance are the studies I have pursued under Ellsworth Faris, Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago.

This material has been discussed in class sessions at the Young Men's Christian Association College. To my many students, therefore, I am greatly indebted for helpful criticisms and suggestions. Especially am I obligated to Cecil Wirth, Don Prosser and H. D. C. Kinney, who made the various drawings. My colleagues, S. C. Kincheloe and Karl R. Stolz, as well as Hiram E. Russell, of the La Salle Extension University, read the manuscript, and for their valuable help, I wish to express my appreciation.

W. R. B.

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DEVELOPING PERSONALITY IN BOYS

DEVELOPING PERSONALITY IN BOYS

CHAPTER I

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND AND POINT OF VIEW

The past two or three decades have been marked not only by a growing interest in the boy, but also in the amount and variety of data which they have contributed toward a better understanding of boy behavior. The hundreds of books which have been published along these lines have aroused an unusual amount of interest. Their entire trend might be described as an attempt to discover the "boy." The writers of these books about boys may be divided, very roughly, into moralists, educators, scientists, and general writers. In some instances, the moralists have dipped into the field of science, while, in not a few cases, the educators have turned moralists; and the same tendencies could be noted in some of the scientists and fiction writers.

In church and Sunday-school circles an increasing amount of interest has been centered upon boy life. The early leaders of these groups belonged to the moralists who, in the main, sought to "save" the boy from sin. These workers have generally adopted a sympathetic and sentimental attitude in their viewpoint and work. As a rule, they have looked upon the boy as inherently bad. Boys were bad, because they were "born in sin." Consequently, the purpose of these men has been to *save the boy from evil,* and as they have been men of ideals, they have spent their time pointing out what the boy *"ought to do"* or more commonly what the boy *"ought not to do."* Many of the ministers, Sunday-school workers, Y.M.C.A. secretaries, and frequently parents belonging to this group have been influenced by Luther's emphasis on the value of the Bible as subject matter. In addition, the curriculum of the Sunday school has accentuated this emphasis on the uses of the Bible in work with boys. The writings of this group form the bulk of the early literature of religious education.

Before and during the same period, a second group, composed of educators and teachers, sought to rediscover the boy. Their motive was to teach, not subjects, but the boy; and the history of their contribution takes place in the field of mental processes with the emphasis upon an informational curriculum or the best methods of getting the subject matter, history or algebra or what not, "into" the boy. Even to-day the emphasis remains to a very marked degree in educational practice on the subject matter. Many teachers are primarily historians, linguists and mathematicians, rather than workers with children. There are, of course, noteworthy exceptions. In recent years educational psychology has made valuable contributions to the adapting of subject matter to age groupings, and to our knowledge of the learning process.

The writers of the third group have chosen fiction as their field. They have been artists with some tendency to moralize, rather than to be scientific, and yet their pictures of boy life have been remarkably illuminating. Few workers with boys realize the value of such autobiographical novels about boys as *Oliver Twist, Penrod, Tom Sawyer,* and *An American Tragedy*. These stories give the reader an appreciation of boy life. In the public press the cartoons on boy life, such as "When a Feller Needs a Friend," are peculiarly effective. Yet many have not considered these contributions of fiction and the press of much importance, and hence have overlooked them in their study of boys.

In more recent years the scientific contributions of biology, psychology and sociology have led the way to a "technique" for understanding the boy. Such men as G. Stanley Hall, J. M. Baldwin, J. Sully, A. F. Chamberlain and J. M. Tyler were the pioneers in reinterpreting the views of science in order to help workers with boys. The tendency of the extreme scientific attitude has been to put the boy under the microscope, so to speak, and examine him objectively—with the result, too frequently, that it has given a mechanical, inhuman and lifeless conception of the boy. And yet, it must be recognized that the great need is for tools—a technique which is simple, but still effective enough for the parent, teacher or church boys' worker to use. This scientific viewpoint has been stated as follows:

> In the last analysis, science, at least natural science as distinguished from history, is technique. It is the result of an effort to discover among things that turn

> up in experience *the relation of cause and effect* to base thereon general rules which enable us to predict what is likely to happen in similar cases. . . . In studying human affairs (we should) look for these same relations of cause and effect, to lay down general rules which enable us to predict from the existence of a situation, such as "A," the succeeding situation "B." On the basis of such general observations, even if they are never formulated with the logical precision here indicated, all formal methods or organizations for the control or improvement of social life must rest.[1]

This effort to rediscover the boy has been like the early quest for the New World in which many men were engaged, each contributing what he could from Columbus to Lewis and Clark. Every new discovery was of importance, insofar as it helped to correct previous conclusions which were inaccurate or incomplete. The explorers kept making progress by probing deeper into the problem. Nor is the geographer's task complete even yet—there are parts of the world still undiscovered, new explorations remaining to be made. If workers with boys could look upon their task in this same way, it would mean a more sustained enthusiasm for continued exploration and an increasing ability to deal in an effective and economical way with boys and the social conditions which affect their character and personality.

A. The Boy Problem

Boys have always been somewhat of a problem. Perhaps it is this problem aspect of boy life which accounts in a large measure for the growing interest in it of social scientists, parents and all who deal with youth. The problem in one form or another reaches its most pronounced stage during adolescence. To the biologist the problem has its origin in the physiological changes which take place during this period of growth, and the psychologist holds practically the same opinion. The tendencies of boys during these years to run away, or do poor school work are attributed to the physiological disturbances of adolescence.

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[1] "The Scientific Method in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology,* 1907, pp. 167-168.

Recently certain anthropological research, however, discloses no really acute period of delinquency and maladjustment among the young men of preliterate peoples. Of course, they undergo a process of initiation into the adult life of the tribe consisting of certain ceremonies, but evidence does not indicate the existence of an adolescent boy problem among primitive peoples. This fact suggests the necessity for an investigation of the part which cultural or psycho-social factors play in adolescent disorders to-day. To recognize the far-reaching influence of present-day freedom and independence is to take the first step toward an understanding of the problem of adolescence. In addition, the complexity of modern civilization—the ease with which money is spent, the widespread use of the automobile, etc.—must be taken into consideration, if we are to understand why the boy problem is so acute. Information concerning such factors as these forms the contribution made by social psychology.

The social sciences make no claim to a perfect solution of the boy problem. At most, they attempt to help workers with boys to understand and to deal with their problem more effectively.

B. Some Contributions of the Social Sciences

One of the earliest and most fascinating theories of biology and psychology held that a boy's development fell into epochs or stages. This view emphasized the physical and social parallelism between the biological development of the individual and that of animal evolution. The psychologist said that the boy recapitulates the racial history in his embryonic growth, and in his social attitudes. Rousseau is credited with having been the first to propose the education of man according to the general evolution of the human race.[2] The theory was popularized, however, by G. Stanley Hall in the decade following 1900. It was widely accepted by teachers and workers with boys; and while most scientific students have ceased to take it seriously in its entirety any longer, it is not uncommon to find teachers and boys' workers still thinking in terms of the recapitulation theory.

According to this recapitulation theory, if a boy stole, was cruel to animals, ran away from home, dug caves, filled his pockets with miscellaneous articles, it was attributed to something hereditary "in his system" that was seeking an outlet. Every type of boy behavior, whether it be walking on stilts, fighting, or playing football, could be fitted into categories or stages. Thus the task of the parent, teacher or boys' worker was to help the boy to switch these impulses into harmless channels by substituting hikes for running away, or a club for the gang experience, etc. Such writers as George Walter Fiske, and John Mason Tyler based their books on this theory.

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[2] *The Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men,* p. 35.

When tested, however, it was discovered that certain interests, such as radio, the auto—others might be mentioned—could not be fitted into this theory so easily. There were so many exceptions to the rules, and so many cases to be explained that even its protagonists began to say that, at its best, it was only a partial guide.

The instinctive theory of behavior was another contribution of biology and animal psychology which aroused the interest and enthusiasm of workers with boys and continues to dominate the thinking of many of them. Any form of behavior may be said to be instinctive which (a) is present at birth, (b) is universal, (c) appears spontaneously, or (d) is very stable and difficult to modify. It ought to be kept in mind, when speaking of instincts, that they are coupled with rather definite inherited neural patterns. Coughing, sneezing, sucking or winking of the eye are termed reflexes, while a capacity is the name given to potential ability—mechanical, musical, artistic, etc. William McDougal is the champion of this theory. His classification of instincts, as published in 1908 in his *Introduction to Social Psychology,* remains one of the best. The principal instincts of man with the corresponding emotions, according to McDougal, are as follows:

Primary Instincts

Flight (Fear)
Curiosity (Wonder)
Self-abasement (Subjection)
Parental (Tenderness)
Gregarious
Construction
Repulsion (Disgust)
Pugnacity (Anger)
Self-Assertion (Elation)
Reproduction
Acquisition

Complex Instincts

Sympathy
Imitation
Play

As this theory became popular, the more practical boys' workers began to analyze various activities in terms of the basic instincts to which they appeal. For instance, sex, subjection, assertion, sympathy and pugnacity are instincts which underlie the rôle of leadership. Accordingly, if these workers with boys desire to develop traits of leadership, they can do so best by approaching the boy through particular instincts. This application of the instinctive theory was applied to many activities in which boys are interested. For instance, if a boy was engaged in some bad form of activity, such as fighting other boys, the strategy of the leader would be to redirect the underlying instincts into a more wholesome channel, such as fighting the waves and current of a stream in a canoe, or fighting a social evil. Books by W. H. Burger, and Frederick Tracy indicate the value of this theory in boys' work.

While this theory was enjoying the maximum of popularity among boys' workers, certain social scientists began to challenge its accuracy, especially its position that these tendencies were a part of the inherited nervous system and not the result of habit formation. The opposing theorists began to ask embarrassing questions like, "Why is it that in certain groups of people, for instance the Chinese, the fighting instinct is not pronounced? How do you explain the fact that many boys are not gregarious, or that others do not exhibit the acquisitive instinct?" The conflict has resulted in the abandonment by many boys' workers of the theory as far as practical experiments with it are concerned.

Whether these instinctive tendencies are natural or acquired, whether the patterns are neural or psychic and other problems such as these can be left to the psychologists to settle. The problem which the practical boys' worker faces is the degree to which these instincts may aid him in understanding and dealing with boy behavior. If important aspects of boy behavior can be explained more accurately and simply otherwise than by inheritance, then it may be found necessary and desirable to ignore it.

Partially as a reaction to the over-emphasis on the heredity point of view, but more particularly in an effort to check up the recapitulation theory, educators began to record the interests and characteristics of children known to them at different ages. A distinct contribution was made in this direction as early as 1910 by Hanford M. Burr in his *Studies in Adolescent Boyhood.* Another book which influenced workers with boys, particularly in religious institutions, was *The Religious Education of Adolescents* by Norman E. Richardson. A more recent and complete study is *Character Education Methods—Iowa Plan,* which won the prize offered by the Character Education Institute.

Concentration on the stages of development and the corresponding changes in interests led to an overemphasis on the differences between children and adults, as well as to overmagnifying the differences at various ages. Suggestibility is characteristic of all ages, and the same could be said of sociability, imaginativeness, and even reason in some of its forms. Only loose thinking permits a generalization regarding the special interest of boys in girls at fourteen years of age, for second-grade boys speak about "their best girl," and many boys at fourteen are not interested in girls.

The decade following 1910 found it necessary to reckon with Freudian psychology. Books by William A. White, Wilfred Lay and James Jackson Putnam attracted many readers among boys' workers. There was something mysterious about psycho-analysis, and those practical boys' workers who delved into it were held in suspicion more or less. Psycho-analysis emphasizes the continuity of experience throughout infancy, childhood and youth rather than the variation of interests characteristic of different ages. A fear of cats, formed in childhood, or a fixed dislike for some color, tends to influence the interests of the individual throughout life. In addition psycho-analysis called attention to the relations possible between childhood repressions and the abnormal traits of adolescence and maturity.

Another contribution of Freudianism to be reckoned with was the emphasis on motives involved in its use of the term "libido," meaning "will to power," "sex energy," or "wish." In addition, its insistence that psychic energy becomes organized in aggregations or complexes has been most useful. The intricacies of psycho-analysis make an adequate statement very difficult to present, but it must be given credit for the contribution which its technique makes to the understanding of the psychological disturbances and manifestations of adolescence as they appear in the problem boy.

It is important, at this point, to note the contribution which social psychology makes by its interpretation of the social setting in which the boy lives, and its classification of boy behavior according to the wishes. It has taken the subjective wish or libido of psycho-analysis and redefined it on the basis of objects or things which boys actually desire. For instance, boys do not hunger and wish for something in general, but rather for books, autos, clothes, friends, pencils, vacations, etc. With this viewpoint in mind, W. I. Thomas subdivided the libido into four objective wishes, namely, recognition, response, new experience and security.

As Mr. Thomas himself has said:

> Our hopes, fears, inspirations, joys, sorrows are bound up with these wishes and issue from them. There is, of course, a kaleidoscopic mingling of wishes throughout life, and a single given act may contain a plurality of them. Thus, when a peasant emigrates to America he may expect to have a good time and learn many things (new experience), to make a fortune (greater security), to have a higher social standing on his return (recognition), and to induce a certain person to marry him (response).[3]

If this category, composed of concrete wishes, is adopted, then it should be possible to use this technique for analyzing any social situation or practice among boys and at any age level. A more detailed description of the wishes and a critical analysis of them will be made in chapter three. Such concepts as restless energy, social suggestion, imagination and emotional fixations will be discussed as contributions of Social Psychology in this later chapter.

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[3] Thomas, W. I., *The Unadjusted Girl,* p. 39.

This rather brief survey affords a glimpse of some of the major contributions of the social sciences to boy psychology. Too frequently these theories have been accepted and used rather blindly, instead of critically. Consequently, the reader is urged to test out the viewpoint which is presented in this book and to gather additional data from life to verify any position which seems to him new and questionable.

C. The Viewpoint of Social Psychology

It is not the purpose of this study to take sides with either contestant in the never-ending debate between heredity and environment, but rather to treat them as two factors or two aspects of a single relationship. To discuss which of the two blades of a pair of scissors is the more important is fruitless. To study and understand more fully how they interact to produce results is the fundamental thing. There are forces within the individual and without, which through interaction determine what he is and what he shall become. Just as walking implies a path, as well as a pair of legs, and eating implies food, as well as digestive apparatus, just so personality implies inner powers of response and an outward environment. The same air that carries the radio message, lashes the lake into waves, wrecks great fields of grain, and purifies the blood. Consequently, we say that personality depends on the way individual and inherited energy reacts to the culture and environment in which it lives.

The controlling and determining influence exerted by culture or social heredity is so great that Benjamin Kidd, in his book *The Science of Power* has suggested that it might be possible to change the world in one generation were that generation dealt with wisely enough in childhood and youth. This he would do by his theory of "the emotion of the ideal." That is, he would establish an irresistible, emotional bond between them and some great ideal, such as Woodrow Wilson sought to do nationally in his expression "Make the World Safe for Democracy." Kidd claims that it is possible to build during childhood such a bond of emotional loyalty to the ideal of "Peace on Earth, Good Will Toward Men" that war for that generation when it grew up would be impossible. While he has overstated himself, in all probability, it is desirable that we understand and recognize the importance of his contentions.

The significance of culture in the development of personality was brought out especially well by Lester F. Ward in his book, *Applied Sociology.* In this volume, he sought to show that genius and ability are fairly well distributed in all strata of society, and the only reason they do not spring up everywhere is for the lack of opportunity due to poor economic and social environment. In his judgment, "the minds of most persons are capable, if afforded the opportunity, of accomplishing some kind of useful work. Persons who have attained eminence and distinction in the world have, as a matter of fact, done so because they had opportunities." He arrived at this conclusion after a statistical study of outstanding political, literary and educational leaders in France, England, Italy and Germany.

A fundamental error commonly made in discussing environment and culture, is the assumption that two boys, say from the same home, grow up in the same environment. In reality, several boys may be walking through the woods, but their environment is not the same. Some watch for the birds, because they like their music, others probably exclaim, "See that rabbit!" and the whole group would turn to gaze at something fuzzy and dark gray going down the path. But even then, the rabbit may serve as a different stimulus to each boy in the group. Why? Because it is a new object to one boy which he has never seen before. To a second member of the group, the rabbit excites very little interest, because he is intent on listening for bird sounds, but to a third boy it will be of special interest because he owns and raises rabbits. That is, every individual in the group has a different history of experience with rabbits, and as a result a different interest, or an entire lack of interest in them. Nor would a painter, a sportsman, or a merchant look upon a rabbit in the same way.

Thus it is plain that each boy pays attention to different aspects of the same set of factors in his environment, and by assigning a different *value* to them forms them into an environment peculiar to himself. This is why twin brothers who grow up in the same house, live in the same neighborhood, and go to the same church or school, may come to acquire very different interests and habits. The important point to understand is that a boy grows to like the things which claim his attention. The boy who gives attention to the appeal of athletics becomes an athlete, which does not mean that a dozen fellows who give attention to football will not develop into twelve different kinds of players because of differences of aptitude and amount of interest taken.

Adults make the mistake of assuming that a boy is giving attention to the thing which he is made to do, when the chances are that his heart may be set upon entirely opposite things. Because of this error it is not easy for them to understand why John George who grew up in such a miserable, immoral environment turned out so well. Or of another boy they say just the reverse, namely, "He had such a good home and so many advantages, that we can't figure out why it is that he has gone to the dogs." The explanation is that neither boy was responsive enough to be mastered by what seemed to be the major appeals of his surroundings. Again farm boys do not pay much attention to the wonders of nature about them, and boys attending church are often a long way from giving attention to the sermon or the worship. This makes it clear that boys make their own environment by the things to which they give their attention. Environment is something unique and individual as actually experienced.

This principle it must be understood, is fundamental, to our study, namely, that these portions of the social milieu or environment to which a boy proves responsive become part of his life and personality. Psychologically, they are as much a part of his life as his hand is a part of his body. His chosen environment becomes a vital part of his life capital just as the branches and twigs are a part of a tree. He lives and grows and has his being in a social milieu to which he is related much the same as a fish to the body of water in which it exists. For instance, a family does not consist of five or six separate individuals or entities but constitutes a group whose members "live in each others lives" and are pyschologically components one of another. Likewise, a neighborhood gang is not an assemblage of individuals like eight or ten bricks in a pile, but a unity like a man's ten fingers.

The intimate relationship that exists between an individual and his group was well explained by Charles Horton Cooley, who writes:

> "Society" and "individuals" are not separable and sharply divisible, but are simply collective and distributive aspects of the same thing, the relation between them being like that between other expressions, one of which denotes a group as a whole and the other the members of the group, such as the army and the soldiers, the class and the students, and so on. So far, then, as there is any difference between the two, it is rather in our point of view than in the object we are looking at; when we speak of society, or use any other collective term, we fix our minds upon some general view of the people concerned, while when we speak of individuals we disregard the general aspect and think of them as if they were

separate. Society, or any complex group may, however, be a very different thing from all of its members viewed one by one, as a man who beheld General Grant's army from Missionary Ridge would have seen something other than he would by approaching every soldier in it. Most people not only think of individuals and society as more or less separate and antithetical, but they look upon the former as an antecedent to the latter. That persons make society would be generally admitted as a matter of course, but that society makes persons would strike many as a startling notion.[4]

In order to reply to questions like, "How do boys get such notions about life?" or "Why do they act as they do?" the social psychologist would delve into the social and cultural experiences of the boys referred to. Any analysis of the interests of boys which ignores their social milieu is dealing with only one half of the process of interaction. Likewise the boy's surroundings must be considered before his satisfactions, annoyances, habits, attitudes, prejudices can be illuminatingly explained.

Thus social psychology avoids the conflict going on between the champions of heredity or of environment by studying the processes of interaction between these two forces. At the same time, it emphasizes its point that each individual organism is born into a preëxisting culture, which determines the boundaries within which this life is to find expression. The details of this process will receive more complete discussion in the chapters which follow.

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[4] Cooley, Charles Horton, *Human Nature and the Social Order,* pp. 1, 2.

D. Study and Research

Much of the most profitable study of boy life must be made in the home, on the playground, and wherever boys carry on their lives in their normal way. These activities afford parents, teachers, and boys' workers certain peculiar opportunities for investigation and research, which are different from those provided by the procedure followed by a class in college in the subject. On the other hand, the practical worker with boys may lack ways and means of working on the boy problem or he is frequently too busy. It is indeed, difficult to outline with any degree of completeness, any course of study or method of research without somewhat intimate knowledge of the individual situation, but it is hoped that the more general problems that will here be presented will stimulate those who deal with youth to continue some special studies. Group conferences between several Sunday-school teachers or parents, or boys' workers would no doubt result in bringing out a variety of views and a type of interstimulation which would be very helpful.

In presenting the material which follows, the purpose is not to offer problems or projects for discussion on which a class group shall express opinions of the moment, or exchange off-hand views; but it is hoped that this material will be of assistance in making plans for the gathering of data as a preliminary to profitable forum or class-room discussions.

1. Are boys more of a problem to-day than boys were in the past? Give your reasons. How would

you set about to gather data on such a question? What criteria might be used to compare boys of two different historical periods? Proceed with such a study and draw a report of the results.

2. Study the literature of boy psychology. Disentangle the main trends in viewpoint.

3. What contributions have the social sciences made to boy psychology? Study the literature and secure convincing excerpts from books to test your views. How do you account for the variations of standpoint? What theories do you find conflict? How can any one of these scientific theories be soundly tested?

4. Does it make any difference in boy welfare whether the gang is regarded as an assemblage of detached individuals or a psychic unit? Analyze the factor of "social distance" as a basis for classifying groups.[5] List the various theories suggested in this chapter and then indicate in what ways, if any, they would make a difference in practical boys' work.

5. What is the significance of the interaction which goes on between the individual and his environment? How does the environment define the boundaries within which the type of play indulged in will fall, the food to be eaten, or the playmates of a child? Where does a boy get his "sense of values"? What does this signify? How does behavior become social? Trace this out in the life of a boy whose history you know very well.

6. Make a careful study of the literature on social

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[5] "Social distance." Look up this concept in Park and Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*.

heredity. Could the world and its attitude toward war be changed in one generation by becoming surcharged with "the emotion of the ideal"?[6] Which factors would aid to make this condition impossible? Which hinder? Gather data for a study of this problem.

7. Study in detail the culture and customs of two different racial or national groups and show their respective influence on the children who belong to them. Which differences are due to cultural environment? Which to heredity?

8. Select an autobiographical novel or an autobiography[7] which devotes considerable space to the formative influences in the hero's boyhood and adolescence. Mark and then quote passages explanatory of boy development, especially those dealing with instincts, his interests or his wishes. Which seems to give the best understanding of the boy's personality? Why?

9. Analyze some program of boys' work, such as Pioneers, Woodcraft, Scouting or DeMolay. What avenue of approach to the boys does it use? Make a study of the program from the standpoint of conformity or lack of conformity of the instincts, the wishes, the interest.

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[6] (See Benjamin Kidd.)

[7] Suggested Autobiographies: 1. Björkman, Edwin, *The Soul of a Child*. 2. Garland, Hamlin, *The Boy of the Prairie*. 3. Robinson, Edwin, *Enter Jerry*. 4. Selincourt, Hugh de, *One Little Boy*. 5. Waldo, Harold, *Magic Midland*. 6. Waugh, Alec, *The Loom of Youth*.

CHAPTER II

THE ORGANIZATION OF PERSONALITY

To live successfully a considerable degree of physical and mental organization is necessary. Some degree of control over the responses made to things as they happen is involved. Life requires considerable power of adjustment to the particular environment in which the individual is growing up. Consequently, the organizing of life makes for status in the group, for emotional stability, consistency in behavior, and personal power. In the case of the boy, it equips him to grapple successfully with his more or less perplexing problems or life situations as they arise. The term "organization" is used here as applied to any complicated system whose many parts perform different functions, while at the same time they work together to accomplish some final definite result. An automobile is an organization. Its various parts perform different operations but all coördinate in carrying out one final controlling purpose.

During its earliest years, beneficent parents, teachers, and friends are ever ready to help the child in this process of getting control of his powers of adjustment and becoming well organized. In arriving at adolescence, youth may take his life into his own hands to a greater extent than before—he becomes responsible for the organization of his life almost entirely.

Just how much in the way of aptitudes the child is born with, to aid him in the organization of his life, has been a difficult problem to solve. Few believe with John Locke that at birth the child's mind is like a blank sheet of paper on which the story of life is yet to be written. At present there are two rival theories as to the state of mind with which an infant comes in contact with the external world. The older view compares the experience of the child to that of a person in a factory, whom the buzz and the whirling of the machinery confuses and perplexes. But as the weeks and months go by, the child's understanding of life clears because the child himself becomes organized in relation to an increasing number of life situations and objects. The child, even more than most adults, goes on and on with this process of learning how to organize and reorganize his life. In contrast to this theory of "organized chaos," the "Gestalt" psychology, as described in *The Growth of the Mind* by Koffka, presents another hypothesis. It posits certain "structural patterns or configurations," such as the mother's face, the bottle, a baby basket, against a more or less blank, uniform background supplied by the infant. By the interaction between it and these "structural patterns" it claims that life takes on meaning and begins to be organized.

It is necessary to study the interaction of the child and its environment in order to discover how more or less vague impulses become shaped into definite acts and organized processes. Certainly, the rôle which the objective life plays has very definite bearings on problems of organization. The child is born with the capacity to assimilate. But just how important a part is the placing of the nipple in its mouth to the total experience of food getting? There has been too much of a tendency to close analysis of the dualism of this situation and the gathering of facts to prove that the ability of the child to nurse is inherent or vice versa. The child would not long continue to nurse if the milk were not warm and satisfying. Previous experience that it pays has a lot to do with the child's crying (wishing, so to speak) for food. As soon as it learns that much by experience, it has learned one of the first lessons in the organization of its life. Another step in ability to adjust itself is made when it can distinguish parent, nurse, or brother from one another by sound or sight.

The mind of the child grows very much as all other forms of life grow. As Tennyson says, "I am a part of all that I have seen." The child literally absorbs the life about it; and this surrounding culture, in turn, determines its wishes, attitudes, habits and its very life. This is the essence of the process of mental development, and to stress the importance of this interaction between the child and its environment is the object of this book.

A. How Life Becomes Organized

It has been suggested already that the individual is born with something in the way of impulses and energy, but the extent to which its activity is predefined is more or less in dispute. Such terms as impulses, reflexes, capacities, and instincts indicate the differing efforts of biologists and psychologists to set forth what is inherited by the child. There is more agreement among them, however, about spontaneous movements and reflexes, which can be observed, than about capacities and instincts, which are apt to be words involving an attempt at interpretation. Disagreement, in fact, is so wide that many discredit the theory of instincts as they are defined in such terms as acquisitiveness, combativeness, or gregariousness.

Without attempting to go into its mechanism too deeply, let us study the life process which indicates phenomena connected with the first lessons of a little child in organizing his life.

Let us watch that infant as it sprawls in its little bed, the darling of a pair of worshipping parents. In the reationship the child is no solitary individual; society is there already, watching him, nourishing and teaching him. Already, he is in the hands of his group who, though seeking his happiness, are nevertheless determined that he shall obtain it their way. And from then to the end of his life that group will in a large measure offer him the criteria of values and his self-esteem will, in the majority of cases, rest upon his idea of their esteem of him. In the brooding mother, in the tender father lie dormant all the judgments of the time on the conduct and guiding motives of the little one.

The baby throws his arms about, kicks his legs, rolls his eyes. In these movements arising from internal activities . . . is the germ of the impulse to do activity which it is the function of society and the individual himself to shape into organized useful work. Thus is manifested a native, inherent, potentiality, which we may call the energy of the baby . . . a something which the environment shapes, but which is created in the laboratory of the individual. The father and mother are delighted with the fine vigorous movements of the child, and there is in that delight the approval that society always gives or tends to give to manifestations of power. We tend involuntarily to admire strength, even though misdirected. . . .

This impulse to activity is an unrest, and its satisfaction lies in movement; in other words, there is a pleasure or a relief in mere activity. The need of discharging energy, the desire to do so, the pleasure and satisfaction in so doing, constitute a cornerstone of the basis of life and character. This desire for activity, as we of the foundation shall call it henceforth, is behind work and play; it fluctuates with health and disease, with youth and old age; it becomes harnessed to purpose; it is called into being by motives or inhibited by conflict and indecision and *its organization is the task of society.*[1] Men differ in regard to the desire for activity, with a range from the inert whose energy is low, to the dynamic types that are ever busy and ever seeking more to do.

The child's first movements are aimless, but soon the impressions it receives by striking hands and feet against soft and hard things bring about a dim knowledge of the boundaries of itself, and the kinesthetic impulses from joints and muscles help this knowledge. The outside world commences to separate itself from the "me," although both are vague and shadowy. Soon it learns that one part of the outside world is able to satisfy its hunger, to supply a need, and it commences to recognize the existence of benevolent outside agencies; and it also learns little by little that its instinctive cries bring these agencies to it. I do not mean that the baby has any internal language corresponding to the idea of outside agency, benevolence, etc., but it gets to know that its cries are potent, that a breast brings relief and satisfaction. At first it cries—the breast comes—there is a relief and satisfaction—and it makes no connection or no connection is made between these events of outer and inner origin. But the connection is finally made,—the desire becomes . . . a plea and a summons. . . . Social life starts when the child associates the mother with the milk, with the desire and the satisfaction. In the relationship established between mother and baby is the first great social contact; love, friendship, discipline, teaching and belief have their origin when, at the mother's breast, the child separates its mother from the rest of the things of the world. . . .

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[1] Italics not in original.

Let us turn back to the desire for activity. As the power to direct the eyes develops, as the hands become a little more sure . . . the outside world attracts in a definite manner, and movements become organized by desires, by purpose. It is a red-letter day in the calendar of a human being when he first successfully "reaches" something; then and there is the birth of power and successful effort. All our ideas of cause and effect originate when we cause changes in the world, when we move a thing from thither to yonder. . . . And our idea that there were forbidden things came when the watchful mother took it out of our mouth, saying, "No, no, baby mustn't!"

At any rate, the organization of activity for definite purpose starts. The little investigator is apparently obsessed with the idea that everything it can reach, including its fingers and toes, are good to eat, for everything reached is at once brought to the mouth. . . .

So our child reaching out for things develops ideas of cause and effect and power, commences to have an idea

> of himself as a cause, and likes the feeling of power. As he learns to walk, the world widens, his sense of power grows, and his feeling of personality increases. Meanwhile another side of his nature has been developing and one fully as important.
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> The persons in this world have become quite individual; mother is now not alone, for father is recognized with pleasure as one who is likewise desirable. He carries one on his shoulder so that a pleasurable excitement results. . . . Usually both of these great personages are friendly, their faces wear a smile and a tender look, and our little one is so organized that smiles and tender looks awaken comfortable feelings and he smiles in return. . . . Out of the social pressure arises the desire to please, to win approval, to get justification, and these struggle in the mind of the child with other desires.[2]

As the result of such experiences as have just been described, the child begins to develop a "self," or "soul," or, as some prefer to call it, an "ego." That is, the life of the child begins to be formed into a system, the kind of system "at the center of which, so to speak, is that which each of us calls 'himself.'" The child first calls himself "baby" and then uses his own name in sayings like "Howard is hungry" or "Show Howard." This first step toward self-realization has been said to be in the realm of the "objective." When the child begins to use pronouns, such as "I," "you," "he," or "mine," the notion of self has become sharply distinguished from the general idea of "people." The true notion of self-hood dates from this period, and this step is credited to the "subjective."

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[2] Myerson, Abraham, *The Foundations of Personality,* pp. 218-225.

The growth of personality, during the years from ten to twenty-five, is of peculiar importance because of the fresh interests, new-born self-consciousness, changed physical appearance, ambitions and social status characteristic of this period. It is the time when personality blossoms forth and begins to develop under its owner's direction to a large extent. His experiences with self-assertion, submission, quickness of temper, pride, humility, self-respect, modesty, arrogance, suspicion, inferiority, race prejudice, social distinction and a score of other aspects of life exercise a very important influence on his personality. In addition, it may be said that the youthful individual becomes conscious of his personality as the result of conflicting situations which confront him, whether the conflict of interests be between his home and clique, science and religion, continuing at school or going to work.

One of the most preplexing handicaps in the child's effort to get its life integrated or woven together with any degree of stability is the mobility of life. Not only is the child picked up and moved about the home and neighborhood, but much in its environment is also constantly shifting. When the baby arrives at a fairly satisfactory degree of organization in relation to the nursery, it may be bundled up and taken on a journey to some other house. The problems springing from the mobility of circumstances are not confined to infancy, but take certain peculiar modes of perplexity during adolescence. The multiplicity of questions which children ask is an index of the effort which they are making to keep things straightened out.

Another fundamental feature of the process of life organization which must be considered is the fact that every situation, group, and person provokes reaction of its own so that the individual tends to adjust his life in one way toward his mother, and in a somewhat different way toward his teacher, or his playmates. This explains why the boy may be one kind of person among his boy friends and something quite different at home or in Sunday school. It might be said that a boy has as many personalities as there are groups of which he is a part; or as William James has said, he has as many personalities as he has acquaintances. Furthermore, not only how a boy actually does appear in these several situations, but how he thinks he appears to others, contributes to the notion of self and the organization of life. For instance, soon after a boy is elected to office in his club, he may take on different habits and attitudes in order to live up to what he thinks the job demands. He takes on a new personality, so to speak. This change of attitude and habits is well illustrated in the person who leaves his home town for the first time to live elsewhere. His reactions to the new freedom may be a new and higher estimate of self or a falling away into careless living.

Now, several of these different personalities may seek to dominate the behavior of the young man, and this constitutes one of the major problems of adolescence. His independence and freedom make it possible for him to belong at the same time to such divergent groups as an athletic team, a group which gambles, a church club, and a happy family.

In each of these groups, he tries to play the rôle which is popular and expected of him in that situation. The task of unifying the conflicting purposes and demands of these groups is quite impossible sometimes. His life becomes something akin to that of a dual or multiple personality, although dissociation of personality may not be present.

With this situation in mind, character has been described as the sum total of one's several personalities. If the group loyalties are widely divergent, then the character lacks unity, fixity, dependability, and faithfulness. It is not well integrated, we say. For this reason a youth, frequently, is pulled and hauled between the conflicting demands of groups with differing interests and moral standards to which he belongs. He is confused by the multiplicity of the situations in which he must decide how to act, and his parents, teachers, and friends do not seem to understand his perplexities and problems. These adults conceive their major function to be that of fault finding, with the result that the boy is aggravated rather than helped. As a result, his self, which had become pretty well organized during boyhood, now seems to be going to pieces during this stormy period of his life.

Throughout this entire period, when the personality of the child and the conduct of his life are becoming organized, parents are continually remarking of some traits, "How did he learn this?" The answer is that, as a general rule, the child learns what he practices doing, and he practices doing those things which he finds satisfying rather than annoying. This generalization is put forward to explain not only how the child learns to play a game, such as bean bag, but how it learns to use a spoon, or to save pennies. However, cases have been known where a baby with normal intelligence has persisted in harmful behavior, such as playing with a candle flame, until the adult experimenter has had to remove the candle to ward off severe burns from the child. In most cases, however, parents can direct the organization of the life of the child best, as he grows, by making the desired responses and experiences satisfying.

If a broad interpretation be given to the learning process, it may be made to include all of life. Such an all-inclusive category is of little value, however. Science is constantly seeking to analyze such too general concepts, and to break them up into more specific principles. Any consideration of the process of organizing personality must take into account the mechanisms through which we learn how other personalities, such as mother and playmate, impinge on the personality of the child. This psychical process of interaction, along with its emotional accompaniments, conditions and influences the individual to a greater extent and ought to be considered as distinct from the learning process for purposes of study and analysis. This affords a clue to some of the implications in the saying: "Character is caught rather than taught."

While it is of value to know "how" children learn, it is far more important to know "why" they learn or why their personality becomes organized in different ways. Why do some boys like camping and others not? Why does one boy lose interest in the church while another grows more interested? If teachers and workers with boys can discover why one boy becomes organized in one way and another boy in another, then it will be possible to control or direct the learning processes of boys better. If we accept the "satisfying-annoying" theory, it is still necessary to ask in every case, "Why is it satisfying?" or "Why is it annoying?" Furthermore, it is also necessary to ask why the same experience can be satisfying or annoying in one situation, and quite the reverse in another.

An adequate reply to the question "why" must be sought in the processes of interaction between the individual and his culture. Ultimately, in following up the question "why?" we penetrate the social surroundings of the individual, except in certain abnormal cases, and there find an explanation of his behavior patterns. This process will be discussed more in detail in the next section.

B. The Process of Interaction

Parents, teachers, scout masters, and all who work with boys constantly either help or hinder the child in the process in which he is engaged of organizing his life. Many of these sincere adults work blindly and "trust to luck" that their labor will turn out beneficial. The task of helping the child to mobilize the forces of his mind and personality is too important, however, to be entrusted to chance methods. The process or technique of mental development must be studied, if the processes of personality and of character formation are to be understood properly. These chapters are seeking an explanation of the process whereby the attention of restless energy is caught or becomes attached to ideas and life objects. Restlessness is the unstable mental state which results from an unapplied store of energy. Restless energy and the objects or situations of life in which it finds satisfaction form a dualism whose parts cannot be considered profitably in isolation from each other. As soon as restless energy finds appropriate outlet, there ensues a state of calm, a degree of happiness, equilibrium, peace, contentedness, and power.

I. Restless Energy

Primarily, restless energy is thought of in physiological terms as "excitability of the protoplasm." The interaction, which goes on in this connection between the inherited and social factors, has been described by an eminent physiologist as follows:

> This is first of all a problem of physiology, not of heredity, because as we have seen, heredity does not account for the individual, but merely for the potentialities, some of which are realized in the individual. . . . Behavior patterns constitute, for the time being, a new physiological integration, a new order and unity in the protoplasmic mass, and *this new integration is determined, not by heredity, but arises as a reaction of the living protoplasm to environmental factors.*[3]

Instances of restless energy during childhood and youth can be easily observed when boys are about. Watch, for example, a Sunday-school class of boys, of twelve to fifteen years of age, during the opening exercises. Such forms of restlessness may be noted as pushing the fellow in front, putting feet on chairs, bending over, leafing through a book, wiggling about, turning, writing, occasionally some stretching, throwing, kicking, finger movements, slapping, etc. These boys all seem to be veritable bundles of activity. The term, "The Live Wire Class," sometimes used by them, is very symbolic of how fundamental this condition is among boys. All movements of this kind are more or less spontaneous, and to some extent, motiveless.

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[3] Child, Charles M., *Physiological Foundations of Behavior,* pp. 43-52. Italics not in original.

Some of the time during the Sunday-school hour this energy may become destructive, at other times it may be directed into constructive channels, such as singing hymns. The phase of activity which is called restlessness is the random, motiveless form which activity takes before it becomes tied up to that which is definitely good or bad. This store of restless energy is seldom fully under control during adolescence. It is least sharply restricted in the case of grinding forms of activity which are monotonous or routine, and almost entirely utilized when the boy takes an intrinsic interest in what is going on.

Such reflex acts as coughing or sneezing are patterns of behavior which are most certainly not acquired but inherited. On the other hand, a habit, such as writing or skating, betrays the fact that these outlets of energy have been organized or controlled by environmental factors. In the case of emotions, such as anger, fear or joy, certain tendencies are probably inherited, but the important thing to recognize is what features of the cultural setting arouse anger, provoke joy, or cause fear. In this connection, there arises also the question of the genius. The report is that Josef Hoffmann was skilled in piano playing when very young and still untrained.

The disturbing problem for consideration centers around the interpretation of instincts. Those who take the position that instincts are inherited neural patterns are rapidly losing a following, because closer observation shows that habits, thus called "instinctive," are largely socially acquired. On this point, the Freudian conception of stores of free energy or libido, which can be repressed, or sublimated or directed in more than one channel according as the forces of the environment converge, has proved very suggestive. Another very common term which John Dewey prefers for such energy is "impulse."

> Impulses are the pivots upon which the re-organization of activities turn. They are agencies of deviation for giving new directions to old habits and changing their quality. Consequently, whenever we are concerned with understanding social transition and flux or with projects for reform, personal and collective, our study must go to analysis of native tendencies. . . .
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> . . . Any impulse may become organized into almost any disposition according to the way it interacts with surroundings. . . . The actual outcome depends upon how the impulse of fear, for instance, is interwoven with other impulses. This depends in turn upon the outlets and inhibitions supplied by the social environment. . . .[4]

No better summary of this subject could be made than that in the following paragraph which was written by Charles Horton Cooley as early as 1902:

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[4] Dewey, John, *Human Nature and Conduct,* pp. 93, 95.

> A child comes into the world with an outfit of vague tendencies, for all definite unfolding of which he is dependent upon social conditions. If cast away alone on a desert island, he would, supposing that he succeeded in living at all, never attain a real humanity, would never know speech, or social sentiment, or any complex thought. On the other hand, if all his surroundings are from the first, such as to favor the enlargement and enrichment of his life, he may attain the fullest development possible to him in the actual state of the world. Insofar as the social conditions have this favoring action upon him, he may be said to be free. And so every person, at every stage of his growth, is free or unfree in proportion as he does or does not find himself in the midst of conditions conducive to full and harmonious personal development.[5]

The following accounts of personal experiences by boys illustrate something of the psychological nature of restlessness:

> He was gone! After a congenial pleasant stay of several days he had returned to the city, leaving me alone in my mountain-top retreat. All the afternoon a restlessness had overcome me. The old tasks no longer interested me; nothing seemed the same about camp. Everything seem to mock with its loneliness. From the wood pile to the spring I went; from the lookout tower to the bluff, which overhung the valley, from the top of which one could see mile upon mile of cultivated fields surrounded by dense forests of pine and fir stretching as far as the eye could see. But the familiar, beauti-

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[5] Cooley, Charles Horton, *Human Nature and the Social Order,* pp. 393, 394.

ful scene had lost its appeal. It was dead and lifeless.

That evening I picked up Zane Grey's *Man of the Forest.* By chance I was reading at the spot where the leading character goes into camp away from the one he loves. He wanders disconsolately about from task to task. It came over me suddenly that never before had I entered so fully into the spirit of any book. The feelings of the man were my own feelings, and vividly could I picture that lonely, deserted camp high in the Arizona Mountains.

Since that night I have never read of a parting but that it thrills me with a sense of kinship. I, too, have parted from a friend and am very close to the lonely ones who have that same experience.[6]

The following letters written to a teacher, illustrate a common dilemma regarding life work:

January 21, 1924

I have a number of things "on my chest" that I think I will unload on you as I always do when perplexed. I appreciate your patience in listening to all my tales of woe.

I am undecided whether I will stay in this small city next year. My wife wants to go to Chicago and I would not be mad about it. I am asking for more money this April when the new budget is made out. If I did come to Chicago, I have been corresponding with a fellow who says he could place me in the advertising business.

I am anxious to get this "life work stuff" settled, so I can start to work to the top. I suppose you feel the same way about me, don't you? Well, I'm twenty-two, but if I don't get started soon, I'll be saying the same thing at forty-two. I sometimes think I'll take a shot at coaching, but that is too uncertain, even as bad as social work.

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[6] Document 1.

January 29, 1924

I received your cheery letter and must admit, even though my knowledge of the human soul is limited, that you have struck the lost chord. I guess I am restless, unsatisfied, uncontented, or have some such youthful disease. I suppose it would be the same in any work, but I always have to find out, and it may be too late.

Sometimes I think I have been urged on when I really did not want to go, but on the other hand, I'm glad I've been pushed. I do believe that I have followed the urgings of others, when I was not really convinced myself.

It might do me heaps of good to take a shot at some other line of work for a year. I suppose I'd be glad to get back into the social work then. I have a desire to work like a regular man. I mean work all day, come home at five or six, and then have the evening off. I want to draw a regular salary, seek promotion, and be free to expess my own ideas on all subjects.[7]

Sex development has some bearing on the nature of restless energy during adolescence. It would probably be wrong to say that boys have more energy during adolescence because of sex development, and consequently are more restless, for many boys are tired and lazy during this period of growth. Then, too, children of six and ten manifest a large amount of energy and their sex development is still infantile. Nevertheless, the growth in stature during the period of sex development is apt to be accompanied by a sense of growing power both physical and social. There is a psychologically new life which is groping for expression. Another difference of which the adolescent is aware is the "sense of expectation" on the part of his elders. They say, "You're fast becoming a man now." All of these factors exert a peculiar stimulus upon the restless energy of a boy during adolescence. It is a mistake to attribute too much of what goes on in adolescence to the influence of sex development; the right consideration must also be given to the social influences which operate in modern life.

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[7] Document 2.

II. Restless Energy and Its Fixations

Restlessness, however, is only one half of a relationship to a larger whole, as far as life is concerned. Consequently, it is necessary to note how a restless person can become "tied up" with some degree of definiteness and contentment to "objects," such as, home, job, girl, or other stabilizing elements of social life. Restless individuals, like lions in a cage, while they remain restless, must be constantly on the go. The amusements and other activities of life which hold them must be extraordinarily stimulating. Just at the strategic moment some social situation may arise to help resolve the restless condition. The boy who is in a literary home may turn to books; if he is living in Alaska, he may plunge into building snow men; if, on the other hand, he lives beside a lake, he may practice the various swimming strokes.

For purposes of analysis, the term "objects" is popularly used in this connection to refer to the environment or culture. It was introduced by the Freudian psychologists. They speak of "love objects," claiming that the libido or restless energy gets tied up to objects in life with all the strength of emotional and intellectual attachment which we think of in connection with love. The intense interest which older boys at times take in billiards, bicycles, girls, basketball, radio, dancing and other activities enables one to see the significance of this use of the term "love object." In contrast, if the word environment be used, its vagueness forces the mind to break up the term, to name over the objects covered by it, such as home, play, music, and club. Finally, many of the terms used to picture the variety of life are verbs which lose their meaning unless something in the way of an object be added. For instance, the statement "a working boy thinks" covers only one half of a situation, which cannot be fully understood without supplying the object of his interest—gambling, a new job, politics, or what not.

When the restless energy of a boy overflows into an object, let us say radio, books, nature or athletics, with some degree of permanency, that object is referred to as an interest or a value. Indeed, the very nature of adolescence has been described by some psychologists in terms of the peculiar interests which thus arise during this period. Certainly, when his choice falls upon books as a primary interest in life, instead of athletics, it makes a big difference in the ensuing characteristics of the boy's life organization and personality.

Furthermore, when the boy engages in athletics for its own sake or for the fun there is in these games for him, then his interest is called "intrinsic" or an "end in itself." So young people may value auto-driving, dancing, novels, or food, for the fun and satisfaction which they take in the activity itself.

On the other hand, boys may go in for athletics in order to keep themselves fit, regulate their diet to keep well, and choose books which will help prepare them to fill a new job. In this case the interest is extrinsic and a means to an end. Money, for example, is an "end" when the person desires it for the satisfaction of keeping it, and a "means" when he uses it to buy a bicycle.

This differentiation in the nature of interests is a matter of importance to parents, teachers, or boys' workers who wish to regulate the overflow of restlessness in boyhood and youth. An individual responds to an intrinsic interest, to the pleasure which his palate will take, for instance, in a fine dinner, more readily than to a plain meal which is good for his health. At the same time, adolescence may also be rightly thought of as the period when individuals begin to look with a longer horizon upon the experiences of daily living as a means to an end. Wise adults are accustomed to look beyond the immediate gratification yielded by an activity to discover its values.

The rôle which parents, teachers, and boys' workers play in effecting wholesome connections between restlessness and objects has been stated as follows:

> With very young children, the motives for activity lie naturally within the activity itself. They do not see beyond their play anything that is accomplished by it. The mother does, however. She sees the relation of this play to the winning of necessary muscular coördinations and habits of self-control. The child sees only the activ-

ity. It has no "consequences" for him. . . . But gradually his plays grow more and more complex. He takes his box of blocks apart and later puts the blocks together. Then he puts them on top of one another in constantly more varied ways, seeking constantly more distant ends. . . . He builds a house for his dolls with his blocks, and does things, therefore, with his blocks that the blocks alone would not have suggested to him. . . .

We adults come along, and by our punishments and rewards get the poor little duffers thinking not about things to do, and bigger and smaller enterprises, but about their own happiness or unhappiness, or their own pleasure or pain, and then, when we have distorted their motives by forcing them prudently to consider what effect a deed has upon their pleasure, we try to correct the fault by persuading them that pleasure is to be found, not by seeking it for oneself, but by seeking it for others, and so we substitute a "higher" self-regard, which deliberately chooses to serve because, by serving, one can attain temporary or eternal bliss.

This procedure is neither natural, nor necessary for the achievement of social-mindedness. It deliberately makes for the type of anti-social or individualistic mindedness that causes trouble in adolescence, when the boy or girl "wakes up" to find that he has been a selfish animal, and in the throes of a conversion experience tries to undo in five minutes the bad effects of fifteen years of misguided teaching. It is a good deal to expect.

What is the alternative? In general, it is this: *Keep his attention upon enterprises, rather than upon "motives"; or upon social consequences rather than upon his own states of mind; and engage him in activities that will call into exercise his own potentialities and that will lead into the great human enterprises which are themselves the end to be achieved by men. Teach the children to seek first the Kingdom, and to find their satisfaction,* *not in the "added things," but in the life of the Kingdom itself.*[8]

The objects and social situations not only become a "releasing process" for restless energy, but also the organizing center of his personality. Parents, teachers, and boys' workers can arouse new interests, secure the adoption of various substitute activities or objects, and discuss with boys the values of other desirable experiences. In these ways, they will coöperate successfully with boys in their unique task of growing into manhood.

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[8] Hartshorne, Hugh, *Childhood and Character,* pp. 180-182. Italics not in the original.

CHAPTER III

THE ORGANIZATION OF PERSONALITY (*Continued*)

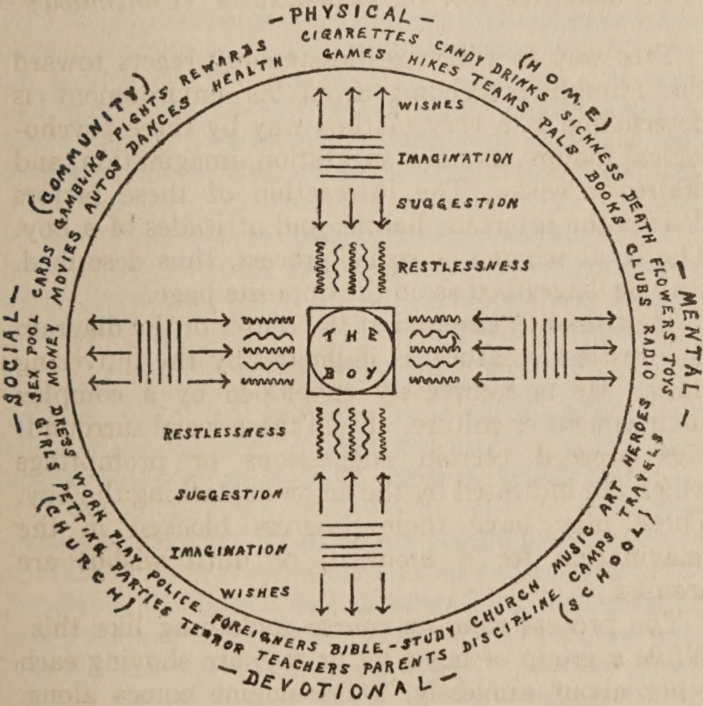
THE way in which restless energy reacts toward the stimuli proceeding from its environment is determined in a very marked way by three psychological factors, namely, suggestion, imagination, and desire or wish. The interaction of these factors defines the interests, habits, and attitudes of a boy. The total scheme or social process, thus described, may be diagramed as on the opposite page.

That the boy situated at the center of the diagram is a restless creature, is indicated by the quivering lines. He is completely enveloped by a complex environment or culture. From these social surroundings proceed certain suggestions or promptings which are indicated by the arrows attacking the boy. These may have their progress blocked in the imagination for a moment, or until wishes are aroused.

The process runs its course something like this: While a group of boys, let us say, are shoving each other about aimlessly, a fire engine comes along. Their imagination pictures the situation, and the wish to share in the excitement springs up and leads them to give chase. Or, perhaps some man encounters the boys, and offers them a job distributing hand bills. Counting their pay in imagination before it is earned, and the wishes it will satisfy—for candy or for a show—determine their acceptance.

A. The Rôle of Suggestion

What type of suggestion challenges the attention of boys and what rôle does suggestion play in boy life? Just a few case studies will indicate the significance of this factor to our problem.


-PHYSICAL-
CIGARETTES
GAMES
CANDY
DRINKS
HIKES
TEAMS
(HOME)
SICKNESS
PALS
BOOKS
DEATH
CLUBS
FLOWERS
TOYS
RADIO
-MENTAL-
HEROES
ART
TRAVELS
(SCHOOL)
MUSIC
CAMPS
CHURCH
DISCIPLINE
BIBLE-STUDY
PARENTS
TEACHERS
FOREIGNERS
TERROR
-DEVOTIONAL-
POLICE
PARTIES
PLAY
PETTING
WORK
(CHURCH)
DRESS
GIRLS
-SOCIAL-
SEX
POOL
MONEY
CARDS
MOVIES
GAMBLING
AUTOS
(COMMUNITY)
FIGHTS
DANCES
REWARDS
HEALTH
WISHES
IMAGINATION
SUGGESTION
RESTLESSNESS
THE BOY
RESTLESSNESS
SUGGESTION
IMAGINATION
WISHES

One night when the landlord was visiting us and it was getting late in the evening, my mother was getting me ready for bed. I was in my nightgown and the landlord said something about me looking like a girl. It struck. I went to bed but only stayed there a few minutes when I got up and went out to my father with tears in my eyes, asking him if I could sleep in my shirt like he did. I told him I didn't want to look like a girl, but wanted to do things like a man. It was a great joke with them, but from that time on, I would never wear a nightgown.[1]

I was in the fifth grade when I received a report card with "failed" marked in bright red. I was always a great deal of a cry baby and I let go. No one noticed me except a little girl next to me. She said nice things and told me to go to summer school to make it up. From then on, I had a great liking for girls, which lasts even now.[2]

I am stubborn, proud, difficult to approach, fond of opposition, slow to get excited, slow to calm down, shrewd, passions fiery, not persistent, sometimes fickle and jealous, straightforward, fond of choice foods, kidney, spleen, and liver liable to disease.

[When eleven years old this boy found his horoscope as stated above and read it to his mother. Her comment was, "That hits you just right." Then he memorized it and tried to live up to it. He thought he was born that way.[3]]

My whole childhood was spoiled. The least little thing I did, my mother slapped me for it. She had the best of intentions, but I certainly had a miserable childhood. She was always annoyed by whatever I was doing and easily irritated. Before I was ready for school she had my stepfather teach me the piano, and because I could not play difficult pieces, he said I was a numbskull. I wouldn't practice when I heard the other boys out playing ball or shooting marbles. I wanted to play, too, and then my mother seemed to take pleasure standing over me for an hour at a time pulling my hair from side to side or slapping me every time I missed a note. This made me extremely nervous. I secretly hated my mother. Where my mother left off my stepfather began. He never paid any attention to me except to kick me down stairs once and throw me out in the backyard in the rain. I always felt like an outsider. It seemed as though there was a sign of "not wanted." [4]

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[1] Document 3.

[2] Document 4.

[3] Document 5.

The extent of suggestibility in childhood, as indicated in such documents as these, is of much serious import from the standpoint of subsequent influences on personality. To ridicule a child, or to call him a "numbskull," or to plant the suggestion of failure by writing the term in bright red ink, where it will keep staring at him, frequently results in serious mental disturbances. How to devise proper antidotes for this sensitivity of youth to harmful suggestion is a real problem. At the same time great possibilities for social control are within the province of the contrasting helpful types of suggestion.

Some penetrating suggestions, good or questionable, which influence youth are listed below. Just to read them is to be aware of their seriousness, but to ponder them will bring out deeper implications which are most appalling, for youth displays tendencies to adopt them as its code.

You must be hard-boiled—swear, smoke and be tough —to be a man.

Never squeal or snitch on your pals.

A hatred for a fellow who is sneaky or underhanded.

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[4] Document 6.

Keep up with the crowd in fads, clothes, and general practices. Be up to date.

Be a sport—return the treat when you are treated. Don't be a tight-wad.

You ought to have a girl—know how to dance, and step out.

They idealize their mother, and begin to call her "mother" instead of "ma."

The idea of being born in sin—the insinuation that boys are born bad.

That one should be rough and ready—always take a dare—be a fighter.

You must display nerve in playing the game—also use your head.

An older fellow should begin the practice of sex intercourse. That is the thing to do.

A dislike for the fellow with the big head—grand-stand playing is tabooed.

Virtue or being good is a sign of weakness.

Ridicule uniforms—Boy Scout or R.O.T.C.

Say that others go to church or Sunday school as an indication that they are decent.

You must make money to be a success—money measures.

Marriage is not a permanent thing. Triangles are common.

Everybody pets, has a hip flask and speeds.

One who tends to his job, or cherishes loyalty to a boss or the teacher is a sucker.

You ought to sow your wild oats—you can do a comeback later.

The worship of the athletic hero, and athletics. If you're not an athlete, you're not much.

Get by—and brag about it. Do as little as you can to pass in school.

This list will answer our purpose, even though important points have been omitted. The significant fact to recognize is that suggestion plays an essential part in almost every social situation occurring in the life of children and young people.

Although youth cannot be characterized as possessing either a higher or lower degree of suggestibility than childhood, yet there is a difference of suggestibility between these two age-groupings. In the first place, the adolescent boy grows increasingly independent in his work of selection between the suggestions offered to him. This is due not only to the fact that the habit of insistence on having his own way is growing, but quite as much to the encouragement which thinking for himself receives from teachers, parents and boys' workers. Second, the source of the suggestion to which he gives prestige tends to shift from those of the home and his group of adult acquaintances to those of boy-groups of his own age. To a much greater extent, he follows suggestions proceeding from his own age-group in the amusements he selects, the clothes he wears, and the habits he practices. It is at this point that much of the conflict arises between his parents and himself. Finally, the type of appeals to which he responds during adolescence may change a great deal. He is now attracted by girls, by a different type of movies, by forms of adult amusement, and by books formerly unknown to him. This is due to some extent to the initiative put forth by his growing mental progress, but the social sanctions of his group are quite as much responsible for it. This phase of the psychology of suggestion explains, in part at least, why many boys drop out of the scouts or Sunday school during adolescence.

Now that we have become acquainted with the importance of suggestion in the life of boys, it is necessary to delve deeper into its nature and the powerful control which it may exert on an individual. In some cases it proves to be tantamount to a sort of waking hypnosis. In fact most of the phenomena of hypnotism are more or less closely parallel to certain aspects of suggestion found in normal, waking everyday life. In hypnotism, the mind and will of one person during the state of sleep induced by another is under control and direction of another person. Many cases occur, in child training, of the use by adults of the receptive nature of the child as a basis of control, and that without putting the child to sleep. This state of docility is easily produced in boys by those who possess interesting and attractive personalities, or who through friendliness so gain his confidence that the boy accepts without question or close examination the suggestions made to him by these adults. Some forms of hero worship are closely akin to hypnotism in their influence. It is in its effects and results that this everyday type of suggestion is akin to hypnosis, and not in its technique and methods.

Finally, every boy is greatly influenced by what he thinks other people will think of him. Bogandus describes a case of

> a young man who does not approve of missions, who attends a church service in order to please a young lady who is interested in missionary enterprises. An offering

> for missions is to be taken. The first impulse of the young man is not to give. Then he thinks of the impression that his stingy self would make upon the young lady. Straightway he makes one of the largest subscriptions of the evening.

He goes on to describe this type of suggestion as the "socially reflected self."

> Every person is surrounded by social mirrors. A friend or an enemy is a social mirror. The reflection of oneself which he sees in the minds of others is his socially reflected self. The nature of the reflection is rarely true; it varies with the points of view of the different human reflectors. . . . But at every turn of life, the choices and actions of a person are partially determined (by what this person thinks other people will think).
>
> The developing of character depends upon the nature of the social mirrors which surround the individual. A growing, active-minded, or sensitive child is particularly affected by the reflection of his acts which he sees in the human mirrors about him. . . . Furthermore, the individual experiences a conflict of socially reflected selves. He cares more for the reflections of himself which he received from his dearest friends than from casual friends. For this reason he shows as a rule his best nature to his friends, and his worst nature to his enemies. . . . For this reason, also, he commonly is more subject to suggestions, which come from friends than to those which emanate from enemies.[5]

We trust that it is becoming clearer how important it is to understand more completely the rôle of suggestion in determining habits, interests, attitudes and personality. A critical analysis of imitation, as distinct from social suggestion, has been made by Ellsworth Faris of the University of Chicago.[6]

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[5] Bogardus, Emory S., *Essentials of Social Psychology,* pp. 84-89.

B. *The Importance of Imagination*

The way in which imagination and suggestion interact is easy of detection in the case of a concrete suggestion, such as, "Let's go on a hike," or "Shall we make a radio?" The words hike and radio call up pictures in the mind, colored by certain past experiences of the individuals concerned. If some proposal deals with a life situation which has no points of contact with the experience of the individual, such as a game of cricket, the imagination attempts to construct a picture of its own. And if the phrase used refers to an abstract idea like skill, adaptation, evolution or education, the mind seeks to visualize the process denoted by these concepts.

Constructive imagination seeks to imitate the pattern given it with exactness, or to be originally creative on its own account. The former is illustrated in a group of boys in camp building a bridge from blue prints, and the latter by another group who build a bridge largely according to plans of their own. Or, in painting a picture of the camp, imitative imagination would be content with a photographically accurate reproduction, while creative imagination would allow considerable freedom of treatment. If a boy allows his imagination to wander entirely at will, then we have day dreaming, fiction or fantasy. The Freudian psychologists call this "a flight from reality."

The important rôle of the imagination during

[6] *American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. 32, page 367.

adolescence is recognizable again in the process of choosing a vocation, preparing for college, in relation with girls and other aspects of life. The following case indicates something of the part imagination plays in vocational problems.

> Through my entire life I have dreamed of great things. Many times the chief draftsman would come along and wake me from one of my day dreams. I could see great bridges being built, could hear the whistles and exhaust of the engines, the noise of the riveters, or see the boats on the river beneath, and the iron workers riding the girders in mid air or running along the frame work like flies. I could see the pump pumping from the coffer dams and watch the concrete as it was poured to make great piers. And through it all, every where, at all times, was me.[7]
>
> Then at Central High School I ran off on another tangent. I read Harold Bell Wright's book, *When a Man's a Man.* The way the author described the mining engineer in the story appealed to my imagination. It even pushed sex off the stage. I wrote to the president of several mining schools, I forgot my stepfather who was very mean to me at this time, and my mother who had no patience with me or my crazy ideas.
>
> How disappointed I was at El Paso the week before, when I saw the Texas School of Mines, and the Mexican girls. In my dreams, I had pictured myself marrying a Mexican-Spanish girl of wealth and living in Mexico and operating vast mines. But the story books and the movies hadn't told the truth about these girls, and I began to think of the two years I had squandered in those dreams and reveries. If I had only put the time in on concentration on my high-school work and gotten better grades!

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[7] Document 7.

My dreams, ambitions, and imagination are the only thing that make life worth living for me, and I am very sensitive on that point. I would die for my dreams on the snap of the minute.[8]

Suggestion and imagination not only react upon each other, but the wish or desire is their joint product. If a Physical Director is talking about health in the abstract, his suggestions are seeds that fall on stony soil. On the other hand, if he throws out a suggestion that certain healthful practices would help the team to win games, that suggestion may catch the imagination and create a strong desire to observe these health regulations. As John Dewey has said, it is "when the push and drive of life meet no obstacle, that there is nothing which we desire. There is just 'life activity,' or restless energy."

C. The Significance of Wishes

The concept of "the wish" which is popular at present, is due to the work of Sigmund Freud in the field of psycho-analysis, and his interpretation of the libido. Social psychology has taken and reinterpreted his theory in several respects. It places the emphasis on the nature of the object to which the wish attaches itself rather than on its subjective side. That is, it considers the wish, as impulse, to be only one half of a relationship, and magnifies the part played by the object wished for, be it baseball, mother, place of leadership, or a hike. Social psychology has also sought to discriminate between wishes and to classify them, rather than to treat them all alike, as is done in the Freudian point of view. This division of wishes into four or six or more classes affords a peculiarly useful psychic tool for the work of analysis, which is denied to those who hold that there is only one all-inclusive wish, as the libido.

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[8] Document 8.

The nature of a wish or desire has been described as follows:

> Repeated inability to respond to moderate environmental stimuli creates in time a somewhat turbulent state known as desire. If the organism is unable after repeated attempts to secure the object of desire, then a chronic unpleasant tone results. "Desire," declared Lester F. Ward, "is painful." He asserted that the sensation must be a disagreeable one because the organism struggles to end it. The seasoning is hardly complete. Many of the objects of desire involve an expansion of the organism in definitely sought directions. The desire for wealth, if once gratified, maintains itself, not because it is painful, but rather because wealth gives a person increased control over things and people. This control results in an expansion of the person's sense of the "me" and particularly of the "mine." It secures him an increased degree of attention perhaps from the admiration of other persons. Desire itself may contain a painful element because the individual is temporarily unable to respond the way he has been stimulated to do. The agreeable psychic tone which results from the gratification of desire more than offsets a temporarily painful element.
>
> It is this aroused but temporarily unsatisfied condition of psychic nature, or desire, that Ward believed to be the dynamic force in individual life, and hence in social life. . . . Desire is a complex of affective and cognitive mechanisms resulting from the interplay of environmental stimuli and innate tendencies. It is in part a

habit seeking after objects, which thereby become values that give the organism a pleasant reaction tone but do not entirely satisfy it, and thus acts as stimuli for further search after the desired objects of values.[9]

The most scientific contribution to a classification of the wishes was made in 1919 by William I. Thomas, when he proposed the four divisions, namely recognition, response, new experience, and security. His inference was that every wish or desire can be classified under one of these four heads. Ellsworth Faris, of the University of Chicago, has made a more critical analysis of the wishes in which the emphasis is put upon the definiteness given to impulses or restlessness by the culture or environment. He suggests a division into four main groups of primary wishes as follows: (1) somatic wishes or appetites and sensation, (2) recognition or distinction, (3) response or intimacy, and (4) the desires which arise out of the individual's sense of inferiority, compared to the prestige of his group, which may be classed as loyalty to the group or a cause, and named allegiance, participation or group superiority. He would class the wish for new experiences, which is related to excitement, as well as the wish for security, which is based on the threat of danger, as derived wishes. Faris, finally, would call attention to the possibility of negative classes of wishes, such as (1) disgust, (2) anger, (3) dread and (4) monontony or ennui. He makes these suggestions *tentatively,* but they indicate the kind of analysis which must be carried out, in order to render this work of classification more accurate.

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[9] Bogardus, Emory S., *Fundamentals of Social Psychology,* pp. 18, 19.

A more detailed statement of these types of wishes and the rôle which they play during adolescence will be made when we come to deal with concrete case materials.

I. Wishes Based on Reflexes and Physiological Needs

(A.) Appetites (Faris). This is the basic wish of life supported by the elementary needs of the body. It includes sex, hunger and physical satisfaction, as well as the desire for sheer activity and bodily sensations.

> I worked at night in the depot, working and rooming with an elderly man who was an inveterate smoker. As I had several hours at night when I was free to do as I pleased, smoking cigarettes came easy. I would use several packs a day. The smell of tobacco was pleasant to me and I liked the taste of it.[10]
>
> Not long ago a group of high school boys were discussing dancing. They have known each other since childhood, so the discussion was free from restraint. Two or three said that dancing to them was just a pleasant pastime, that they received no stimulation from it. A few said that the feel of the girl against them and the feel of their bare arms and shoulders against the boys' hands gave them (the boys) a peculiar and delightful sensation. Two of them said they would not dance at all, because it raised their sex passions, so that they could hardly stand it.[11]

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[10] Document 9.

[11] Document 10.

II. Group Wishes

(A.) Recognition (Thomas)—Distinction (Faris.) Boys wish for approval, display, prestige, applause, distinction, attention, popularity and status from their group. This wish expresses itself in showing off, going to the extreme in fashions, bragging, desire for leadership, and ambition for prominence. Every person likes to count for something in the eyes of the group, and a boy will cultivate the groups which grant him recognition. No one likes to be left out. Furthermore, by approval, rewards, ostracism, and snubs, the group exercises very real control over individuals. If a person does not receive social recognition in the circles in which he moves he may start a group of his own, a group of younger boys, perhaps, or take it out in becoming the admired head of an imaginary group.

During my freshman year I was ambitious to be on the Honor Roll and to beat my cousin. I took great pleasure in achieving this wish, but I could not get the required ninety from the German teacher to make the Honor Roll. She always gave me 88 or 89.[12]

While at work, I was very much interested in athletics, especially in high school teams. My ambition to return to school came while watching the athletic teams in action. I was an ardent rooter and helped win many games from the sidelines. I wanted to make my letter on a high school team. I spoke of my desire to return to school to my folks. Mother favored it, but dad thought I wanted to return for the sake of playing on the high school teams, so he said he would rather have me at the foundry as he wanted me to grow up with the work and then be able to take his place as president and general manager when I was old enough. So I stayed at the foundry until I was just past eighteen.[13]

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[12] Document 11.

About this time the president of our class moved away and the vice-president called a special election instead of taking the position. I was nominated and elected after three ballots. First I was surprised, then scared, for I did not know whether I was going to make a success of it or not. I guess I did a creditable job, for next spring when the editor and business manager of the annual were chosen, I was unanimously selected for business manager. I made a speech before the Annual Banquet of the Chamber of Commerce in behalf of student activities. These experiences all helped to develop a sense of importance in me, not conceit, but a feeling that I had the ability and power to really become somebody in the world of affairs.[14]

(B.) Response (Thomas)—Intimacy (Faris). The wish for affection, love, intimacy, companionship, romance, expresses itself in friendships, pets, chumming, courtship and marriage. This wish hooks up more or less closely with sex activities. The child gets a response to this desire by hugging its doll, or from its pets. This wish seems to attach itself to things fancied, toys, pets, the woods or nature, to others of the same sex (boys chumming together) or to the opposite sex (girls, mother, women teachers.) These attachments exert a marked influence on the sex development of the boy.

There has always been in me, to a certain extent, that element of love for girls. I can remember in grammar school how I was in love with two nice little girls. When the bunch would go from school, to the park, to skate in the afternoon, there was not a day that I missed and how I used to enjoy those times skating. Then, of course, in high school we did not see each other and another young lady stepped into the limelight. None of the cases were very serious, but I am sure I was in love with them just the same. I might say that the young lady now involved in this part of my life far eclipses any of the rest. This was not a case of "love at first sight," but it came about after an acquaintance of about one year. Going to the same church and getting acquainted as the young people do, of course she was "just one of the crowd" of girls at first, but gradually I became more interested in her. One evening after the service I mustered enough courage to ask her if I might escort her home. From that time things began to shape themselves into little more different understandings.[15]

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[13] Document 12.
[14] Document 13.

My home has always been closely attached to my doings. Mother and father have always made it pleasant to be home and to be with them. Father, I can remember, when brother and I had the craze for air rifles, instead of buying two, bought three, one for himself. We had a home which father had designed with a big, bright basement with plenty of room for all kinds of play. Here we set up a rifle range and the whole family spent many pleasant hours in competition and real fun. I say, the whole family, because many times mother would join us in our sport and she was a fairly good shot too. Mother has never been very strong, so brother and I always did the heavy work around the house. This is the first work I had and I used to get a weekly wage which I saved to buy parts of old bicycles.[16]

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[15] Document 14.

[16] Document 15.

(C.) Group Superiority or Allegiance (Faris). The emphasis is placed at two somewhat different points in the functionings of this wish. The first of these expresses itself in a sense of identification with a group for the sake of sharing in its prestige, as indicated in Documents Nos. 16 and 17. The word "participation" might be used to describe these cases. The second expresses itself in a desire to submerge the "self" for the welfare of the group. It might be described as "loyalty, patriotism, altruism or devotion" to a cause.

I took up military training at school. Here I learned obedience and how to be alert. I worked my way up to a corporal in the R.O.T.C. and made the crack company of the school two years in succession. In my last year we won first prize for being the best drilled crack company in the city.

I also belong to a select fraternity of high school graduates. I am one of the founders. Each semester we take from four to six members into our organization who have graduated with high honors, such as, in sports, literary ability, student government, etc.[17]

From the time that I first remember anything, I remember my mother always told me that there were certain things I could not do, because I was of a good family. Also, there were many things I could not indulge in because I was a church member and active in young people's work. I was influenced a great deal also by the expectation of my friend.[18]

If Hi-Y work doesn't become my main life work, it certainly shall get a lot of my time. It teaches a fellow how to live. It might be of interest to you that our motto is "Character Through Service." Right now there are ten or twelve of us who are fighting, living, willing to do anything for the welfare of those younger members of the Hi-Y Club for whom we are responsible.[19]

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[17] Document 16.

[18] Document 17.

III. Derived Wishes (Faris)

The wishes thus far discussed are elemental or primary. Those now to be discussed are seldom found operating independently. That is, the wish for new experience will be an offshoot of the wish for recognition or the wish for security attached to the wish to share in group superiority. For this reason Faris suggests that they be classed as "derived wishes."

(A.) New Experience (Thomas)—Excitement (Faris). The wish for adventure, novelty and thrill expresses itself in exploration, irresponsibility, foolhardiness, daring, truancy, fun, cunningness, curiosity, and "flirting with death." It is also revealed in the intellectual realm by the creative impulse underlying all scientific research. Pioneers, hobos, radicals, and any who find the routine of life irksome, are apt to be seeking new experience.

The woman was a total invalid, having to be entirely cared for. This was my task. Then came the discovery that she was a dope fiend. At first, it was a shock to me. Then curiosity began to run rampant. What would opium do? Very carefully I watched her. When she discovered I was using it, she tried to dissuade me, but I hung on. Politics stirred up a vice crusade. Dope was hard to get. I was carefully watched. The superintendent of schools questioned me. Then the woman died and I was sent home.[20]

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[19] Document 18.

[20] Document 19.

One day a girl had a picture which she showed to several other girls with much giggling, and then tore it up into small pieces and dropped it into the desk. I had always liked the puzzles that fit together, and then too, my curiosity was strong. I collected the pieces, and finally managed to get them into a whole. The picture was not bad. It was of several girls in nightgowns on one of their camping trips. This started a new train of thought.[21]

(B.) Security (Thomas)—Threat (Faris). This wish seeks protection, safety, freedom from worry, from annoyance, harm, danger, or loss. Attached to the emotion of fear or worry it expresses itself in timidity, flight, thriftiness and conservativeness, and is frequently illustrated in the desire for a home, for money, for an education and for religious assurance.

I did not take gym because I was weak and had an excuse. I was hateful to the boys and was hated by them. I never had a fight, for I never aggravated anyone enough to give them a cause to fight. I was afraid of everybody, even myself. When a junior, I tried out for athletics. I tried to practice with the teams and observed the form and how they ran or jumped. Finally, I tried myself. I tried awfully hard to be an athlete, but I never could make it. It got so the fellows made fun of me. They called me a "would-be" and many other things.[22]

I've made the vow or the statement that I would never marry until I had something to marry on. I wanted either a good position, or some financial support, a good education, or I would not marry. I didn't want to start that life until I had the feeling that I could make a success of it and have everything go smoothly, and not have to face difficult situations which nearly all young married couples have to face. I am going to school now. I am still in doubt as to what I want to take up as a life vocation. As yet I am unable to specialize. I am nevertheless getting an education because I realize the need of one, if a fellow expects to get along comfortably in this world.[23]

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[21] Document 20.

[22] Document 21.

IV. Negative Wishes (Faris)

Ordinarily wishes are thought of in affirmative terms, like a wish for a book, or to go to a show, to have a chum, or to get on the baseball team and so on. On the other hand, wishes often express themselves in tendencies toward withdrawal. A boy may say, "I don't want to do it." In these negative reactions, it is, however, necessary to distinguish, for instance, between cases where the boy does not want to go with girls, because he actually prefers the company of his boy friends and those instances where he is restrained from going with them by his bashfulness. The first is largely a case of substitution of boy for girl friends as the fruition of his wish for companionship. The affirmative character of the substitution provides a positive outlet for the wish. On the other hand, if he wants to stay away from girls through bashfulness, a distinctly negative character is present in the reaction inherent in the situation. Wishes, negative in character, require a great deal more study as a class before any conclusions can be formulated concerning them.

The following classification of wishes, negative in character, has been suggested by Professor Faris, but again it is only tentative.

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[23] Document 22.

(A.) Disgust (Faris). Many people experience a decided attitude of repugnance toward such aspects of life as certain odors, pus, evil pictures, drunkenness, sex or filth. Those who possess a high moral sense are quite inclined to recoil from certain of the baser aspects of life.

(B.) Dread, Hate, Anger. While these words refer to somewhat different reactions, they possess in common a negative character. Dread may be characterized by a disposition to shrink away from; hate by recoil in extreme abhorence; and anger by an impulse not to speak to that person again. Such reactions are common enough in the activities of daily life. It is not easy, however, to gather descriptive material in regard to these negative attitudes of withdrawal.

(C.) Monotony. Certain experiences in life may come to seem particularly dull, irksome and monotonous. Many boys grow weary of the routine of their work, whether in school, the shop, or the military camp, and as a result indulge in a negative wish—the wish to withdraw. They just long to quit and do nothing for a change.

The reader may classify for himself the character of the wishes indicated by the following incidents:

In the summer of 1914 I drove a car with the County Judge, a Ranger Captain and my father to a point near the Rio Grande where lay fifteen dead Mexicans. They had been cattle rustlers and were caught armed and changing the brands of about fifty calves, by a squad of Rangers (whose policy is to shoot first and investigate afterward). The Mexicans had been dead about ten days and as the Ranger Captain said, it was "a most disgusting spectacle."[24]

When a boy, I heard a lot about men leaving their wives and children or the wife leaving, so I grew to hate divorce. I was quite religious and never believed in divorce. I dislike divorce today.[25]

I did not like the minister. My previous experiences with him had been anything but desirable. I avoided him on the street. I looked the other way and tried to appear preoccupied by clouding my brow, or looking in a store window. Did I not have very good suspicion that he had caused the criticism of certain high school practices?[26]

Sunday was always the hardest day in the week to live through. After I got to be a junior or senior in high school, until the present, Sunday was always a hard day to put in at home. My home is in a very small town which offers nothing in the way of diversions. On Sunday, I could, of course, go up town and loaf around the corner with the rest of the loafers, but they were not in the crowd that I happened to run around with. In the morning I would go to church and Sunday school. In the afternoon I would stay at home, or go for a walk, or try to find something to do at the "Y" which in that small town, was closed on Sundays. Several times I have gone with friends of mine to other towns on Sunday. I did not go because I wanted to see the town, because I had seen it many times and knew as much about it as I cared to know. It was rather a way of spending several hours of time and nothing better was offered.[27]

(D.) Conclusions. The antecedents of wishes is a problem which needs further attention. The Freudian psychologists hold that wishes are innate, or so dependent, at any rate, on human nature's original equipment, that heredity plays the primary rôle in them. Although the social psychologist does not deny that biological structure is an essential factor in a life process, such as eating, he does direct attention to the influence of the social setting over the form in which appetite finds expression. Whether hunger shall be satisfied by rice, fruit, rats or pastry depends on the cultural, climatic and social situation of the time and place. Chinese appetite finds satisfaction in rice, but that of the Eskimo stands in need of quite a different diet, in spite of the fact that biologically, Chinese and Eskimos are alike.

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[24] Document 23.
[25] Document 24.
[26] Document 25.
[27] Document 26.

A careful investigation into the process by which the wish for response or security during the period of childhood comes to dominate the life of the individual reveals how important a factor is its culture or social milieu. The child is not born with an active desire for love, but it does find a mother's stimuli that awakens the desire for love in the child. Whether the affection of a particular child shall cling most fondly to the mother or the father is a separate problem in which the home surroundings, however, play a marked part.

It must be constantly kept in mind that while this inside process is going on of organizing a life in its relations with the many objects and situations in its environment, outside influences are active, some of which aid in this work of organization of relationship, while others seek to break down the process. For instance, as the organizing process in the life of a high-school boy begins to tackle the problem of his relations with girls, some of his acquaintances complicate the situation by their gossip, or jibes to the effect that "he must be engaged." His parents may be stifling him in his attachment by trying to break up "the match," or his own group shame him out of it by their ridicule. All through, the boy is struggling to bring the conflicting elements in his situation into an adjustment in which he can take some satisfaction. Albion W. Small has defined human experience as "a tide of forming, informing, deforming, transforming, and reforming of group situations." This serves very well to describe the task of navigation created by the daily changes of circumstance throughout every life.

In addition, it is essential to remember that this process of social interaction does not turn out a standardized product. The personality quotient is quite different in a family with an "only" child, from that obtained in a large family, and likewise, social action produces different results in a family where the parents are natives or one in which they are foreign born and the children are being introduced into a new culture. Different results follow from growing up in a setting of wealth as compared with a childhood of poverty, in a city home as compared with one in the country, or in an apartment hotel, an adopted home, an orphanage, or a broken home. The background of circumstance to which the organizing life has to adjust itself conditions the patterns which the personality will reproduce.

To understand any given phase of behavior on the part of a group of boys the total situation entering into it must be considered. This may be illustrated by one or two simple instances. A group of boys had run through some adjacent ripening wheat fields during the time for vesper services on Sunday evening in camp. Without adequate investigation, the director harshly condemned the behavior on the score of the serious damage to property and the breach of discipline. He called the entire camp together and gave them a stiff lecture, which had not been scheduled for the vesper services. He did not stop to find out what was back of it. In reality the boys had been playing with the cows when a group leader caught sight of them. He shouted at them and started to give chase. As boys will, they took to their heels, only to discover that their sole outlet was through the wheat fields. Again, a substitute instructor in charge of a gymnasium was late to class. When he gave the word to begin with calisthenics, one boy stepped out from the ranks and shouted, "Come on, fellows, let's play basketball." The instructor did not stop to find out what had been going on but ordered him off the floor. The entire class followed. As the boys were leaving, he notified them, "No swim to-night either." His own lateness had put the group into a hilarious mood. The point is that the behavior and conversation of the boys in the locker room could only be understood in the light of the total situation. A simple explanation, based on response to stimuli, is seldom adequate. The structural background or "Gestalt" must be unearthed.

E. The Life History of William Frank

The material was compiled by William when he was eighteen years old. It reveals (with unusual clearness) many of the processes by which a well-organized personality is acquired. The writing of it grew out of a suggestion made in friendly talks with him about his problems and plans. He took to the idea and manifested a keen interest throughout.

General description. Eighteen years old; five feet, three inches; one hundred ten pounds.

My mother, whose name before her marriage I do not remember, had *training in the Swedish schools,* which, compared with the rest of Europe, rank very high—the German system being used. *My father* was the only one of the ten brothers who did not become interested in the sea. He *was made an apprentice cabinet maker,* under a master, finally continuing his work in Sweden in a trade school from which he graduated. *His workmanship was marvelous.* I have not been able to find anything to equal it. About the age of seventeen, *he became a wanderlust, and* went on a trip through Europe bringing back with him as his only souvenir, an old accordion. He was a musician and was adept at playing the violin. He married at *about the age of twenty-one and left for America* soon afterward to search for a job and a home for his family.

I was born in Sweden, April, 1905, baptized as a Lutheran, but in later childhood accepted the Baptist faith. *My father* was lavish in his expenditures for his wife. *He had worked as a cabinet maker in* different cities. During that period our family moved, and moved again, as their financial condition became better. In 1908, a second child was born, a girl named Ellen. *The father* *became very proud of his family* and worked very hard to supply their wants. *His wages were big* in comparison to others, and *he always bought the best. He was very much interested in stage plays* and was an observer of the drama of that day. He was also a *student of languages* and worked late into the night reading and writing his thoughts on the politics of the day. *Beer was always on hand,* a case being in the house always, and *this proved to be his downfall.*

This is history. My mind only recalls that as a vision. It seems I was about five years old when I lost my father. *My mother had not worked* at any occupation and seemed lost for a while. She would not accept help except as she actually needed it. *We moved from a nice five-room house into a two-room shack.* I lived in this house from 1910 to 1921, leaving there after eleven years of residence. *My mother worked as a housemaid, sewed and did odd jobs* and dressmaking until I was about eight years old.

As a little tot, up until I was ten years old, *I was an errand boy for the neighbors;* going to the store, carrying kindling or anything desired. *This started my thrift,* because I saved my pennies as does a miser his hoard. I was not bothered about work much in those early days, but studied in school hard.

I got a job selling *The Chicago Blade, Saturday Evening Ledger and the Lone Scout, when I was thirteen years old.* I kept this work all winter and *made money to buy my school books.* I had regular customers, having about a six mile walk. The snow was about a foot deep. When I reached home my sister was in bed, the fire was out and I was half frozen. That year, I must have been about *twelve or thirteen. I went all over the country during the vacation time trying to get a job picking berries.* One morning I had about given up hope, as I was "too young," when I came to a farmer named Jones. The "old man" asked me if I wanted a job. He called me "captain" or some such name and *set me to work by myself stripping gooseberries. The patch had been picked and I combed it over, getting more than the original pickers. This put me in good with "old man Jones" and also his sons.* He kept me at that job, however, "following up" in picking gooseberries, currants, raspberries, and cherries. Finally, he came to me one day and said, "Can you pick red raspberries?" I said, "No"; but he put me on that job. *One day I picked about fifty-six pints of red raspberries, making about one dollar and fifty-six cents.* I saved my money from berry season and *had enough saved to buy some clothes,* school books, etc., in the fall, and a week at our Scout Camp.

The next summer, I worked on the fruit farm of a German who became a good friend of mine. I received two dollars a week and board. I also worked for him the next summer, I being fourteen years old at the time. *He and I managed a thirteen acre farm,* I helping build a 100 foot chicken shed, a barn and a fence. This man was also a dog fancier and had a pedigreed airedale dog. *I became interested in dogs* and was told many things by this man. *This man acted like a father to me,* knowing well our circumstances, he having lived across the street from us. Besides dogs, he raised chickens. Being his worthy assistant, *I learned chickens from "A to Z."* His brother also raised chickens and when work slacked at one place I would go over to the other, sleeping in the hay mow. This place was near a river, and there I *saw many unusual birds in my evening trips.* I saw and watched a field sparrow's nest one morning. It was on the ground under a strawberry plant. The eggs were hatched and finally the young disappeared, so *I saw nature in its full force. I roamed the country from end to end walking in the woods at night,* sometimes getting in at one o'clock. I studied the stars on quiet starry nights and thought deeply.

In my freshman year in high school, I studied, kept a scout troop going, acting always, it seems, in some official capacity. *That summer I worked on the farm and went camping.* The fall of 1920 began my sophomore year. From that fall I have *earned my own expenses* and put myself through school with the help of my ever willing mother. *I secured a job on the Herald,* carrying a country route which gave me $3.50 a week, the highest paid a carrier. I had sixty papers and a five-mile walk into the country every morning. I got a bicycle. I carried the route all winter, through mud, snow, sleet, ice and rain, *never missing a morning* and being late but once. I made friends with my customers and enjoyed my Saturday collecting. *I got up at three o'clock in the morning,* and went a mile to get to my route. *I collected "want ads" in the afternoons and was kept busy.* I also *played back guard on the carriers' team* composed of ninety-five pound boys. When I got home in the mornings, my unselfish mother would have a meal waiting and a warm room with my school clothes ready, so I could make my two mile hike to school.

That summer *I got a job working at the iron works,* throwing rivets. *I kept my carrier job until the boss found out and made me quit.* I was working nine hours at hard labor, then carrying papers from three to six in the morning. *I saved $110 that summer* which I put into a bank account and which supplied me with books and clothes. I was so worn out at night time that I took a quick bath, had supper and went to bed, not staying out late at nights with the gang.

The fall of the year 1921, my junior year in high school, I was sixteen years old. I again secured a job carrying papers on another suburban route. By the way, after I quit my job carrying papers, they broke the route into two sections and had two carriers, not one being able to carry the route like I did. I worked at that job about three weeks, and then, I got wind of a *job at the Country Club,* through my dentist. I started working at my new job October 1st. I was a House Man. My duties were to answer telephone calls, have charge of a cigar counter, or a booth in which cigars, candy and cards were sold. I also took care of the magazine table. This kept me busy, but *I studied during spare moments* in the booth. *I became very well acquainted with the cash register* and taught myself to think accurately about cash. At the first of the month I delivered between $300 and $400 worth of vouchers to various places of business. *It demanded a boy of unquestionable honesty,* as well as one with the ability to do things without being told. *I made many friends* during my two years there, and they are now supporting me in college.

I worked until July 1st, 1923, at the Club, *quitting then because I was refused an increase in wages. But the next boy received more money and less hours than I. The men of the Club liked my work,* and *I knew a good many of them personally.* I read magazines and papers continually. I did not receive tips on the job, but was well remembered at Christmas time. *After I left the Club I met some of the men frequently and they often said that they missed me very much.*

Paul P., *wrestling instructor at the University, once brought a group of wrestlers to the Club* and I saw some interesting points of the game which led me to follow the sport more. *Dances were held during the winter season,* twelve dances being on the program. I worked during most of these dances. *The orchestra music was the best obtainable and this increased my desire for good music.* I worked during about twelve dances in my two years there and saw sights which were a revelation of life to me. *To see a woman flirting with a married man, or vice versa, was shocking.* I learned many secrets of their lives before my term was over. I used to handle "booze" before the dances, which was given to me by the men for safe keeping. *This led me to taste whiskey and gin,* after one party. I went to school and hardly knew what I was doing that day.

Such was the Club, and *I made it my purpose to do my best during my stay there. I did not relinquish my activities in the Scouts, and was also an active Hi-Y member and played basketball* in the high school leagues when I had time—being captain of the team in the intramural competition. I asked for a raise in salary and this was refused, so I quit and hunted another job.

The first summer of my job at the Club, *I worked in a print shop as well.* I learned printing, the set-up, setting type and ran a press at times, my work mostly being with a hand press which required muscle power. In the summer I worked in the day time from eleven-thirty to nine. When the printing business was slack, I used to throw in "pi," and also helped to make a concrete walk and a basement floor.

In time *our family moved up town* into a two-room apartment in the heart of the business district, being but a block away from the high school. This was on the second floor of a private residence. *My mother always succeeded in keeping it cozy and tidy.*

After quitting the Club, I *tried everywhere to get a job,—rode around town day after day, visiting foundries, boiler works and everything imaginable.* No luck. I got angry one morning and rode my bicycle out on the country road, to where the hard road gang was working. I looked around for a while, saw a friend of mine and asked him how he got the job. He pointed out the boss to me, and *sure enough there was a job open for me.* I was to report to North Park at six o'clock the next

Monday morning. I was there on time and found a place with about twenty-five others on a small Ford truck. *The boss put me to tightening bolts on the industrial railway which brought materials, threatening to fire me at noon, if I didn't have the "stuff" to stick. This was a man's job and I stuck to my part with my insides pulled out at times.* Finally, *they moved* and I moved with them, going farther out into the country each time. *This time it was a nine mile ride.* I worked another week putting track together and getting on the good side of the "straw boss." Finally, I asked for another job, and handled 96 pound cement sacks into the skip of the mixer—about three every two minutes. I stuck it out till noon and was relieved by two "huskies," the boss saying that I couldn't stand it. *I did not complain.*

We finally got thirteen miles out from town, and then came the hard part. *We worked thirteen hours a day and went home on the nine o'clock interurban, getting home at nine-thirty.* I took my bath, ate, and went to bed, and slept until five-thirty, when I got up, dressed, ate and again caught the six A.M. truck. We were not paid for our hour's ride on the truck. *I worked until it was time to go to school.*

I made up my mind that if I was compelled to labor another summer at that kind of work I would not come back to school, but get a job somewhere, *earning enough money in a year out of school to go to the State University and take up engineering.* This seemed to be the only solution to my problems. *I have a job waiting for me when I get home this summer, but I'll be darned if I want any jobs like that. I want something that will make me think, give me ability to do something that will be educational.*

I have an opportunity to work my way West this summer and have *felt the urge many* times. It makes me very anxious to go when I receive letters from a boy friend on the coast. *I want to get into the deep woods,* where my father and mother were born and raised—to see the evergreen trees. I have only seen them in parks as an ornament. The *smell of the fresh woods starts a surge of emotion which is hard to quell.*

I have had several opportunities for life time jobs. In my senior year, I was asked to consider an offer to become partner in a printing business. I was to buy half interest for $1,500, but as I could not get the money readily, and wanted more education, I refused. I received an offer to draft in a steel company this winter, with a good chance to work into engineering and also go to the university.

When I was *about six years old I started running with my first gang. A* boy about six months older was leaning on a fence about three houses away. We looked at each other, smiled and that fellow proved to be *the only pal I ever had.* We were continually together and continued that way until he died when he was twelve years old. When we were about six years old, we formed a gang. *One of the boys had a mother who was very lenient with the grocery bill.* Every time we got together we would go to the store and get crackers, wieners, cookies and everything in the butcher shop or store. The father of the boy was a railroad man and paid all the bills without a whimper.

The next gang started the same way, this one had about twelve members. *Two of the boys had lenient mothers and fathers, and we started buying eats on a larger scale. I was a follower* but always had a mind of my own and was not disputed in what I had to say, or in any way molested.

I was a *great baseball fan* and attended all the home games with the bunch, or by myself. The park was over a mile away from school but we saw about every game played. *Some of the gang grew "hard boiled."* One of the boys called *"Tuffy" was leader in everything. When the baseball games were on,* the street car men went inside to watch the game and as the cars were open, *we easily ditched the six dry cells from each car.* We got six cars emptied one day. *I always went along but was timid and didn't do the most dangerous stunts. The youthful* electrician, "Tuffy," had his basement a glitter of electric lights. One day *a wheat field was set on fire. The fire department came and had a terrible time getting control of that fire.* Not until later did I find out that "Tuffy" did it. *That same afternoon they "jimmied" an expensive steam engine on a farm and robbed* interurban telephone booths along the line. *"Tuffy" was caught with the goods. He was sent to the reform school.*

The rabbit craze came on me when I was about ten years old. Everyone raised rabbits. We were interested in birds through a teacher. We had a bird club, which took hikes to different places, and which resulted in a *never dying interest in birds. I tried to get into the Boy Scouts when I was ten years old,* but couldn't get in. I became a Lone Scout and grew interested in their program. That fagged out, and finally I became old enough to join the Scouts. I was very active in the troop, *being a patrol leader in six months. I also became a first class scout with three merit badges after being in the Scouts nine months.* This interest in scouting continued until *I became the ranking Eagle Scout in the city,* with thirty merit badges. I was elected vice-president, then president, and was senior patrol leader for a year having charge of programs with the help of the scoutmaster. *My patrol, the Wolves, won all competitive records* and had the average attendance record for a period of six months. *In the troop summer camps I was active promoting test taking* and had charge of the troop's commissary for a while. The next year, 1920, I went to camp. I was there a month serving as a leader the last period.

Then our *scout troop broke up,* but *I was instrumental in reorganizing an old troop.* This troop consisted of older boys, I being a year younger than most of them. We had fifteen members, had a scout meeting one week, secret order the next, and a social time the third meeting. This was during my junior year in high school.

My advisor at school was *the head of the English Department* and suggested that I take public speaking, I studied debating the first semester, and I took work in effective speaking. Extemporaneous speaking and oratory constituted the work of the second semester. I was giving an oration one day and the *principal of the school stepped in. He heard another boy and I orate and we were asked to appear before the school* at an auditorium period. *We did well, so they say. I was afterwards able to speak on the platform—a secret ambition.* After that I spoke on "What Scouting Means to Me" in the morning service of our church.

Though I had been a *member of the church all my life,* it seems I was not connected with it and *knew the boys only by name.* Later *I organized the troop in that church, got all the boys first class scouts,* arranged for merit badge tests and had charge of programs for the year. I secured the Scout Commissioners and the leading men in town and a doctor to speak about first aid. *During spring vacation our troop had a camp about a week. I got out of work so that I could be there.* It was about zero weather. We were in an open cabin right on the lake. We cooked our meals and had fine outing.

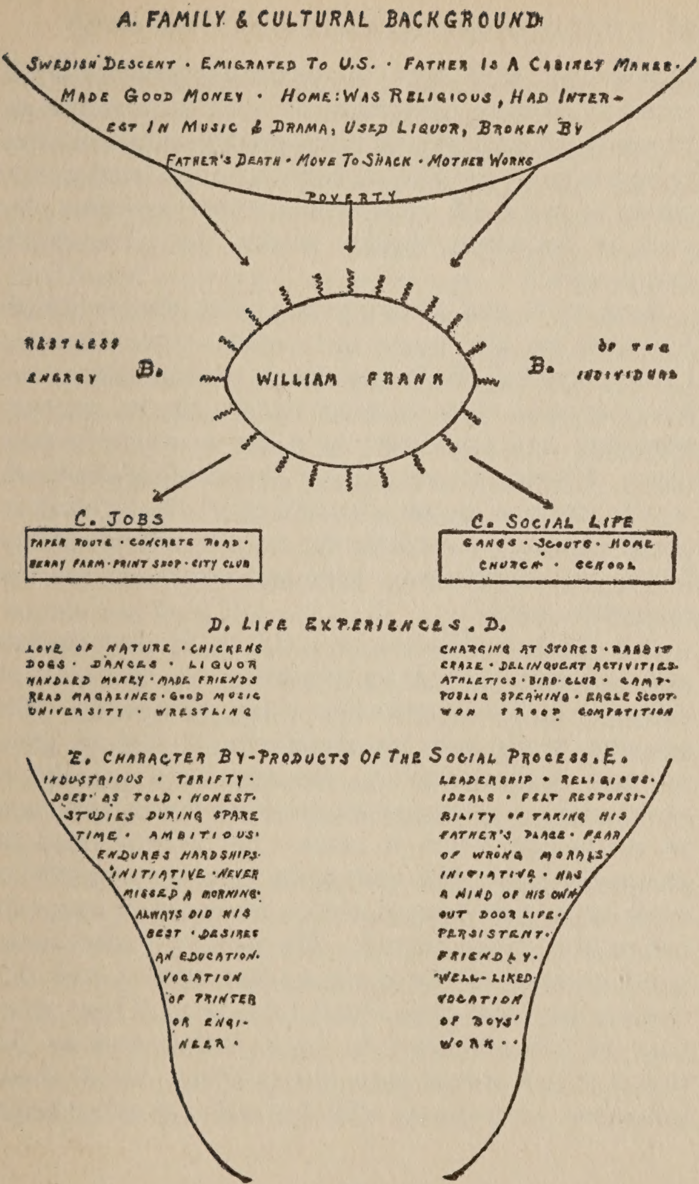
ANALYSIS AND SUMMARY

The significant sentences in the above autobiography bearing on the organization of personality are italicized to make it possible to single out more easily the psycho-social influences operative in the life of this boy. It may be noted from this life history that certain reactions are pretty apt to accompany certain life experiences. That is, when the father died and the family were forced to move to a shack, it is natural to expect that any boy might feel a certain responsibility to alleviate the difficult circumstances of the changed family life. In many of the chapters of his life history it is plain that changed circumstances exerted a determining influence upon the activities of William, and so ultimately upon his interests, habits, attitudes and purposes.

The chart on page 81 is intended to suggest how the various elements of the social process exert certain formative influences upon the personality. Family and cultural background are indicated by the letter "A." "D" lists some of the experiences which happen to William according as he is working at a certain place, or living in a boys' camp. Finally, "E" contains a list of some of the by-products which come out of the "hopper," so to speak, of this organizing or social process. This product is spoken of in sociology as the "human process." This chart is intended to emphasize the continuity of life and to make it possible to trace out the history of habits, interests, attitudes and other elements of personality.

Special note may be taken of certain aspects of personality which appear very distinctly here to illustrate the technique of readjustment.

Restless Energy. The dynamic and aggressive


A. FAMILY & CULTURAL BACKGROUND
SWEDISH DESCENT · EMIGRATED TO U.S. · FATHER IS A CABINET MAKER ·
MADE GOOD MONEY · HOME: WAS RELIGIOUS, HAD INTEREST IN MUSIC & DRAMA; USED LIQUOR, BROKEN BY
FATHER'S DEATH · MOVE TO SHACK · MOTHER WORKS
POVERTY
RESTLESS ENERGY
B.
WILLIAM FRANK
B.
OF THE INDIVIDUAL
C. JOBS
PAPER ROUTE · CONCRETE ROAD · BERRY FARM · PRINT SHOP · CITY CLUB
C. SOCIAL LIFE
GANGS · SCOUTS · HOME · CHURCH · SCHOOL
D. LIFE EXPERIENCES. D.
LOVE OF NATURE · CHICKENS
DOGS · DANCES · LIQUOR
HANDLED MONEY · MADE FRIENDS
READ MAGAZINES · GOOD MUSIC
UNIVERSITY · WRESTLING
CHARGING AT STORES · RABBIT
CRAZE · DELINQUENT ACTIVITIES
ATHLETICS · BIRD CLUB · CAMP ·
PUBLIC SPEAKING · EAGLE SCOUT ·
WON TROOP COMPETITION
E. CHARACTER BY-PRODUCTS OF THE SOCIAL PROCESS. E.
INDUSTRIOUS · THRIFTY ·
DOES AS TOLD · HONEST ·
STUDIES DURING SPARE
TIME · AMBITIOUS ·
ENDURES HARDSHIPS ·
INITIATIVE · NEVER
MISSED A MORNING ·
ALWAYS DID HIS
BEST · DESIRES
AN EDUCATION ·
VOCATION
OF PRINTER
OR ENGINEER ·
LEADERSHIP · RELIGIOUS
IDEALS · FELT RESPONSIBILITY OF TAKING HIS
FATHER'S PLACE · FEAR
OF WRONG MORALS ·
INITIATIVE · HAS
A MIND OF HIS OWN ·
OUT DOOR LIFE ·
PERSISTENT ·
FRIENDLY ·
WELL-LIKED ·
VOCATION
OF BOYS'
WORK · ·

temper of this boy is perfectly apparent. It received definite expression in such statements as, "I went all over the country during vacation time trying to get a job picking berries," or "I tried everywhere to get a job, rode around town day after day visiting foundries, boiler works, and everything imaginable."

Suggestion and Imagination. The way in which his work on the berry farm, and at the Country Club, supplied the promptings which determined his interest in dogs, chickens, nature, liquor, reading, wrestling and his choice of a life vocation is very clear. He says in one place, "The smell of the fresh woods starts a surge of emotion which is hard to quell. I want to get into the deep woods where my father and mother were born and raised—to see the evergreen trees."

His Wishes. Wishes or longings for recognition and security evidently exercised a paramount influence in the organization of his personality. His poverty, work and his slightness of stature gave urgency to these wishes. He responded quickly to anyone who encouraged him to stick it out, and then to recognition when it came. He worked hard to please the boss. His wish to be an orator made him work hard to do himself credit, when asked to speak before the entire school. He was an enthusiastic scout because of the merit badges offered and the chances for office thus created for him. These gave play to his ambition to be a leader and to do things which would earn recognition. All of these influences were closely affiliated with his other basic wish to remain a member in good standing, to hold his present job, or deserve promotion.

His wish to be responsive is apparent not only in his attitude of friendliness to people, but in his love of nature and the out-of-doors. He notices that the farmer "acted like a father" to him; and he developed a strong interest in pets. He says practically nothing about girls, but he does speak affectionately of his mother. The homosexual attachments formed by him at church, in the boy scouts, and the Y.M.C.A. may thus account for his interest in boys' work as a life vocation. His wish to be responsive does not seem to have been as well satisfied as his wish for recognition.

His wish or appetite for new experience is not pronounced. As a member of the boyhood gang, he sometimes held himself back. As he says, "I had a mind of my own." Again he says, "I have an opportunity to work my way West this summer and have felt the urge many times." On the other hand, the jobs he filled and the scout life gave him many satisfying new experiences. This wish for new experiences is kept in check by his stronger wish for security.

While wishes for a share in group superiority are not so apparent, they do exercise a formative influence over his personality, as is shown by instances like these: "The orchestra music was the best obtainable, and this increased my desire for good music." "I want something that will make me think, give me ability to do something that will be educational." "I tried to get into the boy scouts when I was ten years old." In addition, his altruistic spirit finds vent to some extent in his scouting, camping, and church experiences.

Finally, certain negative wishes appear in such instances of recoil as, "to see a woman flirting with a married man, or vice versa, was shocking." "I have a job waiting for me when I get home this summer, but I'll be darned if I want any jobs like that." It is not surprising that a boy with his positive ambitions should display definite negative reactions.

A boy or young man who learned to grapple successfully with such difficult conditions may be set down without hesitation as having acquired a well-organized personality.

F. Study and Research

A vast amount of study and research must still be done before it will be possible to arrive at a full line of useful conclusions, regarding the organization of personality. Especially is this true of the period of adolescence. The questions which follow are simply intended to suggest profitable lines of investigation to pursue.

1. How would you go about it to gather data to determine whether the processes of adjustment and readjustment are easier or harder for a high school boy, than for a working boy?
2. Separate the factors which aid the work of organization from those which hinder it.
3. Make a study of the formative influences exerted upon boys by the songs which they sing and

those which were sung to them as little children. Do the same with stories.

4. Study the various activities of a boy's gang insofar as they supply an outlet for his wishes.

5. It has been claimed that if a boy is to acquire a balanced and well-organized personality, each of the four basic wishes must find satisfaction during boyhood. How test such a law of balance to determine its validity? Carry out such experiments and note the results obtained.

6. Sometimes one wish seems to acquire precedence over the others. How could this principle of dominance be tested out? How important is it?

7. Study several autobiographical novels and biographies in a comparative test of the differing view of Thomas and Faris on the wishes.

8. Gather data to show how fear may become organized into a settled disposition of either cowardice, caution, or scepticism.

9. Make a study of differences between boys. How much is due to hereditary factors? How much to cultural influences? How much control can an individual exercise over his peculiarities in organizing his life?

10. What influence over the organization of a boy's personality is played by the number of agencies competing for his time—home, church, playground, school, etc.? Study the lives of a number of boys to determine the correlating or integrating factors at work in such cases.

11. Study the influence on the organization of personality: (a) of punishment, (b) of chumming

with older people, or (c) of receiving nicknames such as, "sissy," "goofy," or "nut." Make such a study.

12. Study the code of standards in force among boy groups such as, never snitching on a pal, fighting for status, etc. What importance do you attach to this as a formative influence over the organization of personality?

13. What characteristics must be included in the organization of a boy's life for it to be called Christian? Draw up the data on various attempts that you have observed to organize a boy in this way. Evaluate the various methods.

14. Secure life histories of ministers' sons, farmers' sons, or sons of men in other vocational groups, and seek to determine what factors seem to be most influential in the organizing of these boys' lives.

15. Make a comparative study of the conditions under which a boy would grow up in (a) a mining camp, (b) a fishing colony, (c) a distinctly rural community, (d) a congested portion of a city, and seek to determine to what extent the differences in the boys would be due to the differences in their cultures.

16. Many children in America were brought here by their families from foreign lands. What influence does American culture exert upon their parents? What parts of it does the child assimilate most effectively? Why? What traits tend most strongly to persist as hereditary influences?

17. Differences in standards and ideals obtain between the home, the church, the gang, the school

and the playground. What problems do these raise for the boy in the organization of his life? In how far do they tend to build up dual or multiple personalities? What are some of the conflicts which may arise? In which grouping will the boy be most anxious to acquire special status? What influence does this exert over him?

CHAPTER IV

THE OVER-ORGANIZATION OF PERSONALITY

DIFFICULTY would arise in any attempt to agree on an exact definition of a well-organized personality where the parties concerned belonged to different cultures. To be well-organized for life in a city is to be a somewhat different person from an equally well-organized individual for life on a farm. A physical director detects without great difficulty varying degrees of successful organization among the boys in his classes as regards to skill in physical activities. A worker with boys in his community should be able to note varying degrees of proficiency among the boys in their group adjustments. So we may say that a well-organized personality is one in which open-minded readjustment in habits and attitudes is constantly taking place to changed social circumstances subject to the control of reason. On the other hand it is possible to find that different areas in the personality of an individual differ widely in the degree to which organization has been carried. Personalities may be classified roughly, therefore, into under-organized, well-organized, over-organized and disorganized personalities.

One of the more common forms which the over-organization of personality takes during adolescence is the tendency to go to extremes in the development of some one aspect of life. If the field of this over-organization be athletics, then the entire balance of normal interests—school, girls, reading, home, or what not—becomes subordinate to this one ambition, which has become the "hub," so to speak, of the personality. Now this tendency toward a lop-sided or a one-sided personality is very common. Sometimes instead of athletics, it is girls who become the pivotal center.

A second type of over-organization of personality, which exemplifies a more accurate use of the term, is found in the attitude which leads older folks to say, "This is the way we've always done it," or "We don't like these new-fangled ways." In such cases, the reactions of the individual to the sum total of all in-coming stimuli have become so rigid and set, that a decision against readjustment is almost a foregone conclusion. This over-stable personality tends to arrive at a degree of inflexibility which makes it possible to predict, with a considerable degree of accuracy, the kind of response in a given set of circumstances to be expected. Nor is it impossible to find something akin to this type of over-stable organization among children. The disciplinary system of education which sought to drill into the child habits of thrift, dependability, honesty, thoroughness and obedience, was fairly effective in reducing him to this state of arrested development.

This condition of personality is the goal which some parents, teachers and boys' workers have in mind who liken the child to clay which is to be molded. To them, during childhood, boy nature is plastic and the biggest thing that can be done for him is to mold it for him along right lines. Care must be shown in the choice of a pattern or ideal by the trainer, just as the potter uses care in choosing a pattern for his vase. This means that the child must be relatively passive, and the adult trainer is necessarily the active agent in the process. This view makes child training look comparatively simple and easy, for all the parent or teacher has to do is to select the desirable molds, standards or ideals and put the child through a proper drilling process. They say "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it," or "Give me the child until he is seven, and the world can have him then." And what they mean is that his state of arrested development will then be almost unchangeable.

The terms "child training," "military training," "athletic training," "home training," and "religious training" represent to some extent the educational expression of the above point of view. Discipline is the key word in this child-training process. The main object is to have the child repeat prescribed acts under the direction of a teacher or parent until fixed habits shall be formed. It is expected that the patterns of behavior thus drilled in will remain the controlling influence in the life through the force of habit, years after the training period is over.

This process of indoctrination assumes that the adult or teacher must take the responsibility because all it leaves for the child to do is to be submissive and obedient. Those children who were most willing to follow directions, i.e., most lacking in initiative, were praised as "good," "successful," or "the best," while the non-conformists were scolded and called "bad" or "disobedient." Prizes and punishments were additional devices which the adults used to form enduring habits to guide their charges in the right way throughout life. Unfortunately this procedure, common even to-day, may tend to cause the spontaneity of the child, repressed under surveillance, to break out away from home in excesses. Encouraged to rely on his elders for orders, he has a chance at home to do comparatively little or no independent thinking or to come to decisions of his own. Fear induced by threats is much relied upon to get results in this system and often times an unhealthy rivalry is instituted by the offer of prizes and awards.

Whenever adults seek to produce a stereotyped individual, corresponding to a standardized pattern, the result is apt to be an over-organization of personality. As long as a grown child continues to accept ideas, practices or modes of living uncritically, he tends to be over-organized. So it may truthfully be said that frequently the objective of many parents, teachers, and religious workers is to over-organize the personality of the child. However, before discussing the merits and defects of the over-organization of personality, it is important to examine further the factors which aid in producing this result.

A. Cultural Influences

Some social and cultural situations exert a pressure in favor of over-stabilization most difficult to resist. In a static culture, such as that which characterized the life of the Chinese, and also the Indian peoples before the advent of Western civilization, the folkways and mores defining the conduct approved by the group, are unanimously accepted as the right way to react. Any attempts to depart from them is promptly checked. To conform to these requirements of the group is the only way to get along.

Similar folkways and mores are in force in modern group life which pre-determine what the new generation is going to grow up like in much the same way as was the case among preliterate peoples. If a boys' group contacts are restricted to one narrow circle, he is left without any basis of comparison between his own and other modes of living. If all the people he knows eat with the knife, he will form the same habit. The remark is common, "How can you expect anything different? That is all he knows. He's always lived in the backwoods." Almost without choice, a boy behaves as those about him.

The following document indicates the type of this pressure exerted by the family group:

> My home life has been a pleasant one, my parents being Christian and active church workers. My parents have built themselves a home. I am twenty-one years of age now and feel that I have lost my home relationship to a certain extent. I expect my home had something to do with my vocational choice, as I felt that I wanted to enter Christian work.[1]

In modern life, a youth conforms with even greater enthusiasm to the standards of his own age group.

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[1] Document 27.

My boyhood associations had much to do with the shaping of my life. I am very thankful, when I look back at the days which I consider the most vital days of a boy's life—the companionship I had with our "gang." We were by no means a bunch of goody-goodies, but on the other hand, we did try to have some ideals to live up to. For example, we had at one time an organization consisting of a president, secretary and a critic. We felt that in our bunch we ought to be better sports, cleaner mouthed and better tempered, so we drew up a system of tabulating or checking up a fellow for everything. If he should play an underhand trick in a game, for instance, he would have a black mark against him. If I got into an argument with a fellow from our gang, both of us would get a black mark against our names. The object was to see who could get the least marks after their name for the week. The whole group decided when to give the mark and if a fellow should try and put up a fuss about it, when the gang decided upon it, he would be given another one. It was a great pride to hold the least black marks at the end of the week. The competition was keen, it drew us together more and it made a real change in the bunch. This was an idea worked up entirely by the fellows with never even a suggestion by anyone outside. It was not even known to anyone outside the gang.[2]

The conflict that arises in the life of the boy who begins to establish contacts with a second group of different moral standards finds illustration in the following cases.

Several of the gang went on the road and got "so fast" that they landed in jail. This put a stop to the bumming activities of the gang for a while. At this time I smoked my first cigarette and chewed tobacco. I got so sick, I hope I never see any chewing tobacco the rest of my life.

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[2] Document 28.

One summer I worked at a wholesale drug company with a couple of the gang. One left after stealing gum and candy. I began to draw away from the gang and go with some fellows at high school. I changed schools and began to do better work.

Next summer, I think I went to a "Y" Camp and got several new ideas. I became athletically inclined. I learned to swim and play basketball and left the gang almost entirely. My life began to change. I made a high school team and met all sorts of better people. I began to take pride in keeping neat and getting good marks. One of the gang who went to the same school dropped out and I was free. The next three summers I went to camp to mold my life. I made the football team at high school and we won the lightweight championship. I met a wonderful girl and she influenced me greatly. I realize now that when I dropped the gang it was the turning point in my life.[3]

A home or group that is cohesive and congenial in character may be conducive to restricted interests which lead to over-organization. The element of harmony inherent in such a social unit subtly makes for the acceptance of the cultural suggestions of the group without criticism or question. This process is called "collective representations" by the French Sociologists, Levy-Bruhl and Emile Durkheim.

Again, a type of culture which fosters a narrow range of interests, encourages the form of overdone organization. For instance, a boy who grows up in the backwoods or in a mountainous region is in danger of becoming content with the static culture about him. It is possible, even in a large city for a boy to isolate himself from group boy-life by spending too much time in such activities as reading, radio-building, nature lore, or in the family circle.

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[3] Document 29.

Thus the over-organization of a boy's personality cannot be properly diagnosed apart from a knowledge of the general cultural and social situations which produced it.

B. Habits and Wishes

Habit psychology is a common topic of conversation among parents, teachers and boys' workers. "Sow a thought, reap an act: sow an act, reap a habit: and sow a habit, reap a character" has been the theory on which parents and teachers have commonly proceeded, so much so that one writer of this school has characterized a boy as a "bundle of habits." There is something fascinating in the mechanics connected with the formation and persistence of habits. They function so much like a machine that the smoothness of the coördination becomes appealing. The qualities of mechanical ease and permanence pertaining to habits are at the bottom of static forms of organization of personality.

The advantages habit confers and the problems of habit formation find illustration in the common viewpoint regarding the attendance of children at church. It is commonly thought that if this habit is formed in a child it will persist and influence the individual later in life. Those who accept this theory regard the church-going habit as a simple response to a simple stimulus, or to a vague group of stimuli associated with a certain day in the week, Sunday. As a matter of fact, this habit is a response to a very complex and carefully interwoven group of stimuli, such as the relation of home to church, the accents of the mother's or the father's voice, the church, a favorite teacher in the Bible school, some girl in the choir, a personal friendship with the pastor, dread of the adverse comments of an uncle, etc. It is these many varied features of a habit, such as going to church, rather than its fixity, which underlies habit formation during adolescence. As the child grows older he is given more freedom, grows more independent, forms new group associations and becomes less subject to the control of these adults, who were partially responsible for the formation of the habit, church-going. The social aspect of the habit or some of the stimuli which produced it begin to disintegrate or change.

Frequently when a boy goes to college or moves to a new town, Sunday does not present the same stimuli to him and this results in the breakdown of his old Sunday habits. If, on the other hand, going to church has become a "complex," to use a Freudian term, the effect upon the breakdown of his Sunday habits may not be so marked. In this case over-organization from the viewpoint of habit is usually the work of an emotional fixation. The emotional element which permeates any complex, exercises an important influence on the problem of adolescent behavior, on account of the sexual development which is in process at this period. It is during the early part of this period that complexes may begin to produce a fixation of habits in the adolescent.

Whenever a wish underlies the habit associated with anything like going to church, learning to play the piano, carelessness or neatness in school work, running an automobile, or riding a bicycle, exercise of the activity becomes a vital affair. A boy who "wishes" to be a public speaker will practice elocution at every opportunity and try hard to develop the proper habits for a speaker, but a boy whose parents wish him against his desire to learn to play the violin does his practice work half-heartedly, and omits it entirely whenever he can. Parents and teachers often fail to accomplish their desire when they try to force a boy to like something which he does not desire himself, or to which he is indifferent. For a while the boy may go through the motions of the activity into which he has been forced, but this unwilling acceptance is apt to end in sulking, lying or open revolt. If the parents or the teacher will only watch for the signs of an awakening "wish" of the boy's own, he will then enter into the activity whole-heartedly and probably more successfully.

The wishes of a boy in one or two directions may be exceedingly strong and he may over-develop those activities. Such boys are inclined to overwork some one line of interests, such as athletics, radio, girls, parties, pocket billiards, fishing, autoing, or the movies. Sometimes this excessive interest in one line of activity does not last very long. Boys are impulsive and like change. On the other hand, some of them cling to their boyish interests even to the extent of allowing them to influence their vocational choice, such as a decision in favor of coaching, acting, or aviation. In relation to the four wishes it is possible to find cases where a fixation sometimes takes place largely to the exclusion of the other three. Other boys may let sets of two wishes, response and security, for instance, determine the integration of their personality.

The wish for response is in greater danger of becoming over-organized than the other wishes, because of the reënforcement it receives from the sexual development in progress and the emotional states which it creates. Sometimes the "love object" may be other than a person, such as a love of nature, money, art, or handicraft. The camper, the miser, the painter or musician, and the amateur carpenter are illustration of what we mean. If the "love object" is a person, the fixation may take one of three courses, i.e., love of a member of the opposite sex, which is called heterosexual love; love of a member of the same sex, which is called homosexual love; and love for one's own self, which is called narcissism. Over-development on any one of these planes is common.

Desire for recognition may produce the braggart, the faddist, and the jealous person; while the wish for new experience may result in extremists, such as, radicals, hobos, and spendthrifts. Whenever one wish predominates in a boy, some lop-sided form of over-organization will occur.

C. Emotions and Sentiments

The entire subject of the emotions, and the emotional disturbances peculiar to adolescent boys, is undergoing a large amount of research at present. Psychologists and experts in the field of mental hygiene all recognize that adolescence is accompanied by important emotional crises in the life of nearly every boy, because his emotional nature is greatly wrought up by the novelty of his sexual experiences, his rapid growth, and by the various conflict-situations which he has to meet. The so-called primary emotions of fear, anger and love, as well as the secondary emotions of joy, grief, disgust, tenderness, jealousy, subjection and elation play a distinct rôle in creating conflict situations in adolescents. As a general rule, emotions are thought of as a disorganizing factor in personality, because of the disturbance which they cause prior to the completion of the adjusting process.

The important influence of situations and objects in his social surroundings in arousing or directing the emotions of the adolescent must be kept in mind in all our discussion. In order to understand "fear," as an emotional state in an adolescent, we need to know if it is a fear of the dark, or of snakes, or of teachers, or of drowning, or of parents, and what incident produced it. It is this process of interaction between native emotional equipment and the social factors it encounters, which causes conflicts in the emotional life of the individual. The Behaviorist, in writing of the emotions emphasizes "the stimuli which call them out" rather than the emotions themselves. Likewise, do the psychoanalysists, with their theories of complexes and love-objects, take this same point of view.

The following case is an illustration of an emotional reaction to objects:

> As I was walking up the street and was gazing at the tall buildings, a group of street waifs yelled out, "O Rube, when did you get in?" I got very angry and ran after the nearest one, slipped on a banana peel, fell into a gutter, and rose all besmirched. In a great rage I returned to the hotel and changed my clothing, getting angrier all the while. My trip "was entirely ruined." I finally decided however, that I would not let the incident spoil my trip: but, not wishing to admit that I was at fault, I took the alternative of trying to forget. Forgetting, however, is a hard job; the details were impressed only too vividly on my memory. Now, every time I see a tall building, I am reminded of the event and angrily turn from the building in my endeavor to forget. I hate tall buildings. When I see a small boy I am again reminded of my unpleasant experience, and, refusing to think about it, I turn angrily from the small boy. I pass a fruit stand and see some bananas which remind me of the peel that caused my slip, and in order to forget I rave to myself about people who throw banana peels on the sidewalk, saying they should be arrested. My raving diverts my mind for a time. So, in order to forget the unpleasant incident I express anger against innocent objects.[4]

An emotional attachment or fixation bound by a strong tie to some object or the organization of the emotions into systems bound to similar objects is referred to by such terms as "love objects, complex, sentiment, or emotion of the ideal." A personal value comes to inhere in these objects or pursuits which become deep rooted in the emotions. It is just this condition in the emotional life of an adolescent boy which is apt to lead to some form of emotional over-development that needs further consideration.

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[4] Morgan, John J. B. *The Psychology of the Unadjusted School Child,* p. 74.

> We owe to Mr. A. F. Shand the recognition of features of our mental constitution of a most important kind that have been strangely overlooked by other psychologists. . . . . Mr. Shand points out that our emotions, or more strictly speaking, our emotional dispositions, tend to become organized into systems about the various objects and classes of objects that excite them. Such an organized system of emotional tendencies is not a fact or mode of experience, but is a feature of the complexly organized structure of the mind that underlies all our mental activity. To such an organized system of emotional tendencies centered about some object, Mr. Shand proposes to apply the name "sentiment." James Drever says that it is the idea of the object rather than the idea itself with which it is identified. As Shand points out, when a man has acquired the sentiment of love for a person or other objects, he is apt to experience tender emotions in its presence, fear or anxiety when it is in danger, anger when it is threatened, sorrow when it is lost, joy when the object prospers or is restored to him, gratitude towards him who does good to it, and so on; and, when he hates a person he experiences fear or anger or both on his approach, joy when that other is injured, anger when he receives favours.[5]

McDougall calls attention to the fact that sentiments are arranged in an order like a hierarchy, with one sentiment—the master one—at the top, as we find for example in the case of the fanatic or of the miser. The strong likes and dislikes of a boy are not reasoned out by him but are rather products of his emotional reactions to them. Consequently, reason exercises no such degree of control over the conduct of the adolescent boy, as do his emotional fixations. Although some educators consider that the learning process and the life process coincide, we are of the opinion that very often these emotional fixations are not learned, but arise fortuitously.

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[5] McDougall, *An Introduction to Social Psychology*, p. 122, 124.

As Edmund Holmes says:

> A sentiment can be fostered. It cannot possibly be "taught." A noble sentiment, such as the disinterested devotion of the patriot, owes nothing to official compulsion or direction. What it owes to environment, to tradition, to example, to precept, though buried in the past, has duly registered itself in the patriot's subconscious self. His love of his country, itself in reserve, may easily seem to be dormant, in times of national prosperity and peace. When a great crisis comes and there is a sudden and urgent demand for self-sacrifice, the sentiment awakes spontaneously from its apparent slumber, operates freely and uncalculatingly, and asks for no sanction and no reward. But when official sanction is given to a base self-regarding sentiment, it receives an impetus which carries it far along its ill-omened way. The reason for this is obvious. The selfish instincts, however strong they may be, are as a rule held in partial check.[6]

Sentiment, as we have been discussing it, exercises a stabilizing influence over the personality. No boy is greatly quickened unless a love of God, or of country, or of his fellow companions, or of a social Cause or some similar sentiment does the kindling. These emotional forces in his personality supply the urge that drives him on to achievement, self-sacrifice, or heroism. When, however, the love of country is blind and the worship of God lacking in intellectual ballast or the devotion to a Cause is ignorant, then the signs of over-organization of personality can easily be detected. Open-mindedness, freedom of discussion and emphasis of the more democratic aspects of the learning process are the proper safeguards against the danger of falling victim to this over-organizing tendency.

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[6] P. 18.

A distinctive contribution to the understanding of this aspect of personality over-development was made by Benjamin Kidd in his elaboration of the "emotion of the ideal." Edmund Holmes in *Give Me the Young* gave a more critical discussion of the same theory. The presentation of Christ as an ideal by the church, the oath of the Boy Scouts or the purposes of the Christian Citizenship Program provide an abundance of material to show the effectiveness and power of control which the "emotion of the ideal" may exercise in the life of a boy. Put emotional content into the program of the daily good turn, or the service idea, or the fourfold life, or a camp code, and such ideals will soon begin to control the conduct of a boy and direct his personality.

Those who believe in the democratic process in education, and the sacredness of personality, might question the right of adults to select and foster ideals like the above on the ground it tends to become a form of autocratic, even though benevolent, control over the child. Such persons would prefer that a boy-group should determine its own purpose, ideals and activities, with the least amount of adult interference. Even where a group adopts an ideal or purpose at the suggestion of the leader, however, the boys may be allowed a wide degree of initiative to work out the program and attain the prescribed ideal.

D. Moods and Temperament

When an emotion tends to persist and prolongs itself, it is called a "mood." When the emotional pattern is more permanent it is called a "temperament." It is characteristic of a mood that emotion may be aroused with ease during this mental state. Almost all objects or incidents in turn may provoke an emotional response. For instance to a boy in an irritable mood, a situation which ordinarily would provoke only a smile may result in a show of temper. A boy of strong or marked moods is subject to storms like the waves of the sea. While he is riding the crest of an inward tumult he experiences great joy, but down in the trough, deep depression. All boys are inclined to be more subject to these extreme fluctuations during adolescence than during adult years. Occasional instances occur, however, of even emotional temperaments during adolescence which seldom get ruffled.

Here is a good statement of the relations between moods and personality:

I have found it convenient to use the current division of mental process into the three aspects: affective, cognitive, and conative. The affective states of the members of my groups are discerned through their conversation when the feelings are conscious and through their emotional expression and reactions when the feelings are subconscious. The feelings most often observed, conscious and subconscious, fall into three classes. They are feelings of vigor, strength, resolution, conviction, which I generalize as forceful; or they are feelings of contentment, restfulness, cheerfulness, good-will which I generalize as expansive; or they are feelings of weariness, despondency, anxiety, commiseration, which I generalize as agitative. . . . After long and intimate association with certain individuals of my group I have observed a feeling-movement which seems fundamental. It is an oscillation from forceful to expansive feeling with a possible sinking into agitative feeling during the transition of either forceful or expansive feeling if too prolonged. . . .

This oscillation of moods is a result of the discipline of the environment. Children show an oscillation of the feelings, but it does not occur with the regularity displayed by the oscillation of moods in adults. Thus children as well as adults show a greater tendency to forceful activity in the morning after rest than later in the day. This feeling finds vent in the rough and tumble of which children soon tire and relax into instructive and impulsive acts of sympathy. Thus children left to their own devices, pass from one kind of feeling and activity to the other with little regularity. In the household of the working man, however, children are disciplined by the parents who seek to bring the activity of the children into harmony with their own oscillation of moods. Thus in our isolated family, the girl of thirteen is, in disposition, a hard worker, while the boy of nine is not. One morning when the father was at work in the field and the mother in the kitchen, I heard the mother say to the boy who was bothering around the kitchen, "C, do something, don't stand there idle. I don't care what you do, but do something." In the evening, on the other hand, when the girl was still working and the parents had sat down to rest and enjoy their children, I have heard them say, "M. sit down and be quiet." In the morning the forceful child or, more strictly, forcefulness was selected because in harmony with the working mood; in the evening the sympathetic child was selected because in harmony with their recreative mood.[7]

The display of certain rather permanent tendencies in the emotional life is spoken of as temperament. These exhibitions are said to show the individual's constitutional or inherited manner of responding to varying circumstances emotionally. Wundt classifies temperaments from the standpoints of reaction as: quick and strong, slow and strong, quick and weak, or slow and weak. It is possible to detect among boys such various types as the flighty, the staid, the indolent, the morose, the hot-tempered, and the philosophical temperaments. These temperamental peculiarities are exceedingly important factors which may be conveniently classified as follows:

First, *the weak motor temperament,* formerly called the sanguine. This is the lively, excitable, enthusiastic, "red headed" or "tow headed" boy with blue eyes, fair skin and animated face, a boy with respiratory and circulatory system well developed, requiring very little stimulation to exertion, but unfortunately, the effects of stimulation soon die away. He depends largely upon his feelings, a sort of "Georgie Giveup." Second, the *strong motor temperament,* or the choleric, the intense, hot-tempered boy of action, energetic, full of determination, self-reliance, and confidence, with the will generally uppermost, a boy with well-developed muscular system, hair and eyes dark, complexion sometimes sallow, the boy of sanguine temperament. Third, the *strong sensor temperament,* or sentimental, or perhaps better still, "reflective" type, usually a boy of thought, reflection, and sentiment, who has great love of poetry, music and nature; not very practical, the dreamer, a boy with slender figure and delicate motions. Quick, head large, eyes bright and expressive. Fourth, the *weak sensor temperament,* or phlegmatic, a slow-and-steady, patient, self-reliant boy, somewhat sluggish, with mind heavy and torpid, sometime stupid; a boy with face round and expressionless, lips thick, abdomen large, body generally disinclined to exertion, ready for the "eats" at all times and hours. While boys generally may be classified into these groups you will find that probably no boy has a temperament purely weak motor or strong motor, or weak sensor, or strong sensor. This is particularly true as boys reach maturity. During adolescence, however, temperamental differences assert themselves with full vigor, and there is a broad and readily traceable distinction between the "motor" and "sensory" or the "active" and "sensitive" boy.[8]

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[7] Williams, James M., "Outline of a Theory of Social Motives," *Amer. J. of Sociology,* Vol. 15, pp. 744-746, 1909-10.

The conclusion which would seem to be indicated is that the original capital of energy bestowed upon an individual by nature is closely related to temperament. The pulse of that energy, slow-quick, weak or strong, largely determines how he would react to objects and situations. Sometimes this is spoken of as his disposition.

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[8] Gibson, H. W., *Boyology,* pp. 64-66.

It may be said that when a boy or young man reacts consistently to life situations and objects which he encounters over and over again, habits result from these reactions which tend to control or determine his future responses and attitudes. Furthermore if definite emotional reactions associate themselves with these situations or objects, the habits become even more deeply bound or fixed in his makeup.

For example, the affection of a boy for his dog is a relationship, psychic in character, by which the dog becomes no less than a part of the life of the boy. Just as the arm is so attached to the body that it lives in the body, so may we say that the dog really "lives in the life" of the boy. Were the dog by any chance to be killed by an automobile, the pain which the boy would suffer would be perhaps more acute than the pain that he would feel were he to cut off his finger with a knife.

The temperament of a boy is constantly played upon by the multitude of objects and cultural factors which constitute his environment—his father, his bicycle, his mother, his church, his chums, his baseball, his teachers, his spending money, his books, girls, ideas, and anything else with which he comes in contact. Differences of temperaments in boys are due to the variation in the factors, to which they give attention which produces corresponding variations in their habits, interest, and practices. This makes it possible to trace relationships between emotions and habits or complexes, but what is of greater importance, the theory of sentiments suggest that it may also be possible to trace with some exactness the growth or history of emotional fixations. The emotional attachment which a boy may have for animals, such as his dog, his rabbits, or his pony, is not an insoluble mystery, since its origin and the experiences and emotional reactions connected with it are all at our disposal for the solving of the problems thus raised.

E. Social Interaction, the Source of Types of Personality

When the integration of personality becomes so complete or takes such definite directions that a well-defined state of fixation of equilibrium occurs, we have what it called a "type." When this entire process which produces types goes too far, an over-organization of personality in some direction takes place. What is meant by "type" is not foreign to the average person, for he can and does recognize types and gives them such names as "bully," "hayseed," "dude," "sheik," and "flapper." There are two different views, however, of this process.

Some psychologists hold heredity responsible for types, tracing them to some inherent factor, as in the case of the glands. The literature of psychoanalysis refers to "introverts" and "extroverts" as biologically determined types. An extrovert is interested in some form of self-expression; he has confidence in himself and likes to do the big job in a big way. An introvert, on the other hand, is quiet and keeps his thoughts within his own mind, where he creates a little world of his own. The extrovert is full of energy and action; he likes to get things done; he is usually talkative and makes friends easily. The introvert is interested in ideas, rather than in external things; in the theory, rather than the practice; he finds it more difficult to make social contacts, as a rule, and is apt to be given to self-analysis, or day-dreaming.

The educator makes another classification and refers to book- and motor-minded types. The boy who is so attracted to books that he is often spoken of as a "bookworm" is mental-minded. He prefers to use his brain, rather than his muscles. The boy who is primarily interested in doing things belongs to the motor-minded type. He likes to work with tools, and he shows a special aptitude when he begins manual training and shop work.

Other psychologists hold that types are acquired traits. Thus certain traits go to form the teacher-type, while others produce the farmer-type. In such cases, the characteristics become an embodied part of a life organization. This power of absorption, which explains the over-organized nature possessed by a fanatic, or anyone who lets one idea of activity run away with him, has a particular bearing on these studies.

Mr. W. I. Thomas classified types thus: the philistine, the bohemian and the creative. The philistine is the person who goes to church regularly, shows a great interest in his prescribed school work and conforms generally to the wishes of his parents. He fits into the social traditions he finds and is ready to defend them. There is little or no question that his personality will remain in a state of arrest as long as he clings to his conservative views of life. The bohemian, or radical, is the boy who is in conflict with adult standards. He lacks system and frequently his personality pursues a down grade into bad conditions. The creative type is so busy with the work of readjusting itself that it is in a state of constant re-organization. It does not meet new situations in the traditional way, but proceeds to search for solutions better suitable to its own personality. W. I. Thomas says of these types.

> The philistine, the bohemian and the creative man are the three fundamental forms of personal determination toward which social personalities tend in their evolution. None of these forms is ever completely and absolutely realized by a human individual in all lines of activity; there is no philistine who lacks completely bohemian tendencies, no bohemian who is not a philistine in certain respects, no creative man who is fully and exclusively creative and does not need some philistine routine in certain lines to make a creation on other lines practically possible, and some bohemianism in order to be able to reject occasionally such fixed attitudes and social regulations as hinder his progress even if he should be unable at the time to substitute for them any positive organization in the given lines. But while pure philistinism, pure bohemianism and pure creativeness represent only ideal limits of personal evolution, the process of personal evolution grows to be more and more definite as it progresses, so that, while the form which a human personality will assume is not determined in advance, either by the individual's temperament or by his social milieu, his future becomes more and more determined by the very course of his development; he approaches more and more to philistinism, bohemianism or creativeness, and

thereby, his possibilities of becoming something else continually diminish.[9]

Edward Spanger, the German Psychologist, in his book on *The Psychology of Adolescence* presents a classification of types based on their relationships to the great values of life. Those with whom the useful weighs most constitute the economic type, while those to whom the beautiful makes the strongest appeal belong to the æsthetic. Theoretical and social, religious and executive, are other types recognized by him. If, however, these types were mutually exclusive, it would be useless to attempt to expound religion to people of the economic type, or vice versa, which, of course, is not the case.

One of the most suggestive groupings into personality types is that of James Mickel Williams which is based on what he terms "dispositions." This work carries a suggestion that the thing it denotes is an inherited tendency, but more careful analysis of his own exposition leads us to the conclusion that he intends it to refer to a trait which is the result of social interaction. His classification has been re-stated as follows:

> In the development of the child the instinctive tendencies soon lose their original form but persist in behavior in a form modified by the group attitudes and idea. Dispositions are the result of these modified instinctive processes and they give a characteristic trend to behavior so that we speak of a person as having an aggressive disposition, or a sympathetic disposition. The same person may have more than one disposition pronounced.

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[9] *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America,* p. 31.

It is important to recall that people are always studying each other's dispositions in order to know how to "handle" each other.

From the viewpoint of social relations, an essential distinction is between those dispositions that are satisfied regardless of the satisfaction of other people and those that are satisfied only by satisfying others. In the latter case satisfaction is directly a result of the satisfaction of others; the disposition is annoyed if others are not satisfied. A development of personality takes place whenever the individual successfully controls impulses that have become annoying in the social conditions in which he must live. It is always a question as to whether one should try to alter conditions or to adjust oneself to them. The dispositions influence and determine the attitudes which in turn define the individual's rôle in the group. These have been worked out in nine elements. Usually several of them are apparent in any personality, but of more importance is the one disposition which stands out, and around which the others subordinate themselves in the schematization of the personality.

1. Rivalry is the disposition to show superiority, the desire for popularity, to win praise, to be noticed, to get ahead, or to secure social admiration.

2. Domination is apparent where the disposition finds its satisfaction in submission on the part of others. Parents, teachers, and older boys use fear, threats, ridicule and argument to maintain their position to dominate. Their joy comes from the triumph of their own idea or plan. They are arrogant, ruthless, show authority and are called "bullies."

3. Acquisitive people want to possess, to have, to win, not for superiority or to spend for display, but just to have. Possession has become an end in itself. They desire to secure and hold.

4. Resistful dispositions enjoy obstacles even when there is no disposition to show superiority or to dominate. They are argumentative and pugnacious.

5. Submissive people are those who follow or give in. The satisfaction comes from being relieved of responsibility, and gratifying their desire for security. This disposition is the opposite of domination, it seeks to avoid trouble.

6. The conforming disposition is sharply contrasted with the resistful disposition. It seeks to do as others do, and finds its satisfactions therein. It follows the crowd.

7. The sexual disposition is essential in the life of the race. It is closely allied with rivalry when ornamentation, speech, song, manners are used to attract the opposite sex.

8. Sympathy is the disposition to share the expression and mental states of associates, whether of satisfaction or annoyance. A person may be compassionate and generous, and yet show a lack of fine consideration of the feelings of others. A strong sympathetic disposition has a feeling of compassion and pity for weakness. It is opposed to the rivalrous and dominating disposition. It is considerate and warm-hearted.

9. The intellectual disposition is indicated by a sheer love of knowledge. It may function with any other disposition or it may act independently. Children are constantly asking questions about what has no other interest except that aroused by curiosity. This independent action of the intellect is characteristic of the scientist. It analyses, experiments, reasons, likes to study.

Some psychologists make rivalry merely playful pugnacity, domination a more serious form of rivalry, and resistance merely pugnacity acting under certain conditions. But the social psychologist can see in behavior differentiation sufficient to justify, I think, the classifications suggested. In children under five one may see rivalry in various forms—in their impulse to have things that are "as good as" those of other children—without the least impulse to dominate others. And one may see, especially in sensitive and timid children, a disposition to resist when thwarted, without any impulse to dominate. They call the rough, dominating boy "bad" and avoid him. When these children grow up, these traits persist. The ultra-rivalrous person often has no capacity to meet obstacles and remove them, while the resistful person may enjoy obstacles in his work and enjoy the rôle of non-conformist, with no obvious desire for superiority. Similarly, we see social reformers who are mighty resisters on occasions show no impulse to dominate.

The organization of dispositions depends not only on what disposition predominates in the individual, but also on mentality. The behavior of perhaps the great mass of people is largely determined by their local and face-to-face relations. Their acquisition is determined by the degree of industriousness of those around them. They conform to the prevailing submissive and dominating attitudes in the family, industry, the church and the body politic. Their rivalry is the petty rivalry with associates. Their sex behavior likewise is determined by response to stimulus, by the moving pictures, the allusions to sex that they hear, as well as by the prevalent beliefs as to what is proper behavior toward the other sex. Their sympathy is primitive, largely confined to the family, and they have no intellectual interests. This conforming mass looks upon the man of some imagination and ambition as a "promising young man." His thought naturally takes the direction of his vocation and his imagination looks beyond his immediate vocational associates to something of a career. If his mentality is made largely or entirely to serve the rivalrous disposition, that disposition will become the organizing one of his character. But if others are strong, they will deflect mentality from rivalrous aims, and this conflict of dispositions inevitably stimulates and invigorates the intellectual and pushes it to the fore as a conscious process.

The tyranny of an unusually strong disposition may warp the development of personality as much as may uncriticized response to social suggestion. For instance, the business man must control his rivalrous disposition not only in the interest of social justice but also for the sake of his own personal development. A conscious development of personality requires the control of inordinately strong dispositions. A boy who is made to obey by a wise parent thereby acquires the power of commanding and controlling himself. He has power to say "no" to his impulsive self in his boyhood. This is his domineering disposition organized in the service of intellectual power of inhibition. In like manner, the submissive disposition may be organized into an ennobling resignation to the inevitable; the rivalrous disposition into a keenness for the cultivation of excellencies seen in others; the sympathetic disposition into a refining and broadening consideration of others' feelings and ideas. Thus may be organized a rationally conscientious personality.[10]

Because of the importance of sex as a factor during adolescence, it would be a serious neglect to admit a discussion of that factor in its relation to types. Sex desire, physical and psychical, finds outlets and can be classified from several points of view into patterns or types. That is, the sex factor becomes knit into the boy's organization through influences proceeding from his social environment, and then plays a distinct rôle in the development of a boy's personality, sometimes resulting in disorganization and at other times in over-organization. Most of the descriptive terms now in use in discussing sex have been contributed by psychoanalysts.

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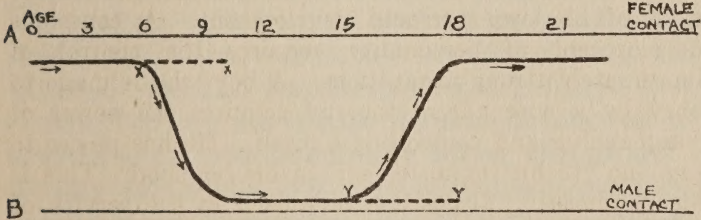
[10] Williams, James M., *Principles of Social Psychology* (*adapted*), Book I.

The normal life history of a boy in relation to the sexes has been illustrated by the following graph:



The line A which presents the female contacts in the life of a boy takes account of the fact that while a boy under six has some points of contact with his father and brothers, the prime one is with his mother. She cares for him, fondles him, and stirs into life within his soul the first sparks of love, although sometimes the father may help perform this function. Ordinarily, the mother is the first love-object of the child. If, when the boy reaches the point indicated by "X," he is unable to break away from his mother and go to school, then the way is opened for the emotional fixation to begin to develop, what is known as the "Œdipus complex." He will refuse to play with other children himself, and will continually prefer his mother's company. If this condition is allowed to continue, many serious complications may arise. Not only will he grow up a "mama's boy," but his mother may become his sweetheart, not only in name, but to such an extent that he may hesitate or refuse to marry. Whenever he does show an interest in a girl, his over-fond and unwise mother cannot bear to yield first place and will seek to break up the "match." In many cases, this state of affairs leads to endless bickerings in the home between the father who wants a man for a son and the mother and boy, especially when the boy reaches older adolescence. The quarrels between the mother and father which grow out of this over-developed intimacy between the boy and his mother may break up the home.

During the period of infancy, two other adverse conditions may develop. The name for one is effeminacy, and is not uncommon among very young boys. To be sure, it is rather difficult to distinguish between boys and girls during childhood, if they are dressed alike and wear the hair short. But some mothers insist that their darling pay special attention to his clothes, they refuse to let him associate with "rough" boys and in other namby-pamby ways seek to keep him a "nice" boy. As time goes on, the psychic perversion which the nature of the boy is undergoing becomes more pronounced even to the extent of his movements and attitudes, approaching those of the female.

Finally, he may develop a marked liking to manipulate certain parts of the body. He may suck his thumb long past the age, play with his ears, or begin titillations at an early age that lead to the practice of masturbation. This proclivity is called "autoeroticism," and the type of personality which it produces is named "narcissistic." A child of this type is over-interested in its own body; in nakedness, in urination, and other bodily sensations.

Most boys, however, are willing to begin school at six years of age, and also to begin play with boy companions as indicated on the graph by the small arrows. Now the contacts of the boy are mainly with others of his own sex. He pals around, participates in games, and goes camping with them. The preference for his own sex may be so strong that it will lead him to say that he hates girls. The object of his love has shifted from his mother to those of his own sex. If, at the time, the boy enters adolescence, as indicated at "Y" on the chart, a strong interest in athletics or the attractions of the Y.M.C.A., or the fascination of his radio-building operations, keep him away from girl company, then his homosexual fixation may continue beyond its normal term into adolescence. It need not result in perverted acts, but it does involve risks of entanglement in the more serious problems of his personality.

Ordinarily, however, the attention of the adolescent boy is drawn to the girls. This tendency to make girls the fond objects of his attentions is called "heterosexual." The participation together of boys and girls in church activities encourages heterosexuality. All who work with boys should be awake to the importance of helping them to make the normal adjustments that will put them at ease in girl company under the most wholesome conditions.

There are two other types of which we should speak: the "sadist," who finds sexual pleasure in inflicting pain on others, and the "masochist," who experiences sexual pleasure from suffering pain. The "bully" who likes to get another boy down and twist his wrist until he screams with pain is a sadist. He likes to wrestle, and sexual satisfaction comes to him from crushing another boy beneath his weight. He thirsts for competition and glories in the defeat of his opponents. The masochist, on the other hand, takes strange delight in being roughly treated, and enjoys in a left-handed way being the victim of aggression. He is sympathetic and feels sorry for anyone in pain. Both these tendencies exist in every boy to a certain extent; the more masculine boys tend to be sadistic, and the more feminine boys masochistic.

F. Summary and Conclusions

The question whether the over-organization of personality along certain lines is a desirable objective for adults and workers with boys to aim at, or whether it is possible of attainment with any degree of permanency, has been omitted as much as possible from this discussion. In a relatively static culture, such as prevailed among the American Indians, before the arrival of Western civilization, the success of a boy in life depended upon his over-developed ability to make use of the necessary skill which was essential to fighting, hunting, etc. It was possible in such a civilization to predetermine the line along which a growing boy or young man should be specially trained There was only one direction in which his personality could be organized to much advantage and a measure of over-organization in that one direction was the necessary basis of success.

But, who would dare predict what skill is necessary for a successful life in our civilization, or ten years hence? To-day life moves at a rapid pace. It is like a swiftly flowing mill race, compared with the sluggish stream of primitive life. Under these conditions, there are instances when that form of over-organization commonly called specialization appears to be of peculiar value to a modern young man. In fact, to be a success in many vocations some definite degree of specialization is essential. This tendency of specialization to go to extremes is opposed by those whose aim is to turn out youths with well-balanced personalities.

> We speak of *fixed* habits. Well, the phrase may mean powers so well established that their possessor always has them as resources when needed. But the phrase is also used to mean ruts, routine ways, with loss of freshness, open mindedness, and originality. Fixity of habit may mean that something has a fixed hold on us, instead of our having a free hold upon things. . . . Habits reduce themselves to routine ways of acting, or degenerate into ways of action to which we are enslaved just in the same degree in which intelligence is disconnected from them. Routine habits are unthinking habits. . . . Routine habits, and habits that possess us instead of our possessing them, are habits that put an end to plasticity. They mark the close of power to vary.[11]

This trait of fixity in habits is a rather basic factor in the over-stable organization of personality and its end product or final outcome is spoken of as character. That word "character" seems to fit this process with appropriateness, for it is derived from the Greek word "to engrave." By derivation, it means a figure, a letter, a mark engraved or impressed. This seems to account in part for the use to which the word "character" is commonly put by teachers, parents, and workers with boys who try to imprint their own ideas or practices on the personality of the child. This static reference of the word "character" is responsible, in part, for the use of the term "personality" in these studies to denote forms of character which are dynamic and ever-changing products.

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[11] Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education,* p. 57.

The doctrine of the plasticity of human nature in youth with which we have been dealing, works out fairly well as long as the boy remains at home and under more or less constant control, but the mold may be quickly broken when the boy achieves freedom. Cases of this sort, familiar to any observing teacher or parent, occur when a boy leaves home for college or goes to work in the neighboring city. In other instances, however, the spirit and will of the child may be broken by the severity of parents or teachers or the individual may accept too much without question the mental patterns offered by his elders. These types furnish the extreme examples of over-organization of personality due to under-employment of initiative. In these cases over-stable organization implies that a boy's native restlessness has been run into well-defined grooves and attached to a few objects by strong cords of deep-rooted wishes. These wish-attachments to job, home, religion, education, or other objects are so dominant in him that the elements of curiosity and experimentation are in abeyance and fixed habits hold him steady. These boys are such slaves of what they do so regularly and such tools of the ideas which they hold so tenaciously that they are not often visited by a wish to change.

In reality many habits and views that have even become fixed may have to be changed the next day if a boy is to make the adjustments required by the new things expected of him in a changing social life. Over-stable organization of personality make such changes difficult. Personality growth is curbed. This is why courses leading up to over-organization at the expense of a loss of initiative are of questionable value. The ideal training process for filling a niche in modern life must provide for a degree of flexibility which will make the *constant re-organization of personality* a possible program.

It must be kept in mind, however, that boys can be indoctrinated with definite points of view, and critical analysis may indicate that we, as parents or workers with boys, sometimes do this and cannot avoid doing so. A boy who is a scout for several years, is "brought up" a Roman Catholic, one who has socialists for parents, or one who begins life on a farm is apt to become permeated with points of view which will bias his conduct and attitudes throughout life in very noticeable ways. The key to the dogmatic views of a high-school boy concerning war, race, prohibition, or labor unions can often be found by investigating the views of those talked over in the family or other social groups to which he belongs. If the grown youth fails to submit those views to a critical review, the seed there sown will ripen into a first-class case of over-stable organization or stoppage of growth due to too great contentment with existing adjustments.

Sometimes, older adolescent boys revolt from rather than conform to, prevailing sentiment, from excessive patriotism, as expressed in militarism, for instance; but in so doing, they go to the extreme of pacifism, a sign of contrariness that substitutes one form of arrested organization for another. Others may deny the dogmas of the church, and become devotees of Karl Marx. They may lack convictions for a period more or less prolonged, which is typical in cases of disorganized personality.

Whatever presentation teachers, parents, or boys' workers set before their charges, whether the subject be Christianity, Socialism, or World Brotherhood, some of them may prove too docile, take it "as is" and cling to it for life. This danger has led certain educators, with the object of teaching boys to think for themselves, to set before them the opinions of a dozen and one conflicting schools with little or no indication of their own views. Boys, however, are not able in the beginning to estimate opinions for themselves in this wholesale way. They cannot suspend judgment for very long. Consequently, they soon cast their vote in favor of the conclusions of some one book, side with some one group, "accept" some one form of religion, or, in other words, take over some adult view.

It is only fair to admit, therefore, that the risks of over-organization of personality due to too great contentment with existing adjustments are greater during adolescence, because the range of viewpoints regarding life and experiences are limited and the judgments little practiced. As the boy becomes older, he comes normally into contact with one or more differing schools of opinion, new to him, regarding religion, selecting a vocation, choosing a wife, or his duties as a citizen, etc. For a time he may be perplexed and have to suspend judgment. Such a state of personal disorganization, relatively speaking, may continue for several months or even a year or two. When, however, revision of opinion is reached, the risk of his organization becoming over-stable in a new direction is possible if carried to any extreme.

G. The Life History of Edward Johnson

The processes that lead to over-stable organization of a personality due to too great contentment with existing adjustments is well illustrated in the following life history of Edward Johnson. Edward supplied this data at the time he left home to enter college.

I have always been under *strict Christian discipline,* my parents being members of a conservative denomination. Later, I became a member of this *same church in which I have practically lived until two and one-half years ago.* At that time I joined the Young Men's Christian Association. This gave me a broader vision upon life.

Both of my parents are living, and my home life has been as fine as anyone could wish to have it. My folks have never quarreled in my presence, nor have they ever "pounded the dickens" out of us. We have been *reprimanded,* but that is natural. I have three brothers, two older and one younger, besides a sister who is the baby of the family. This leaves me as the middle one, two above and two below. Did it have anything to do with my *dad's apparent favoritism toward me?* I wonder.

The first thing I can remember was the going to Sunday School. One Sunday School wasn't enough. We moved from the district of the first church which we attended and settled close to a second church of our denomination. Our parents having their membership in the first church caused us to continue going to Sunday School at that place at 9:30 A.M. From there we came home and went to the second Sunday School at 12:30 P.M.

We lived across the street from this second church and were fortunate in having a large kitchen and yard. In the winter we spent our time in the kitchen, from twelve to fifteen children playing marbles before the Sunday School began. In the summer we used the yard which we had fixed up to suit our needs.

By this time we were old enough to go to *Bible School.* This had the same relation as the *confirmation* has in the Lutheran church. Our study was held on *Friday nights* from seven to eight o'clock. At eight we would get our gang of four boys together, my brother, the two brother carpenters, and myself, and would "hie our way hence" to the house. I attended Bible School about four or five years.

About this time in my life an evangelist came to church number two. I attended his meetings every night, and on one occasion went forward to accept Christ as my personal Savior. My folks tell me that when this evangelist left, I "nearly cried my eyes out." Shortly afterwards at church number one, special meetings were put on. I did not attend these regularly as the church was quite a distance from home.

When I was twelve years old, I was baptized into the church and became a "full fledged" member of one of the largest churches of the city. This led into the Bible class, conducted by the church school under the instruction of the pastor and his assistant. I was put into the assistant's class and *followed the lessons carefully.* The next year I was put into the pastor's hands. Here he ruled with a strong arm and *rowdyism was not so prevalent.* Winter was in full blast and snowballing was a great sport. The *girls* of the class were our victims. We hailed them with the icy missiles and had a *good time seeing them run.*

In 1918 five churches on the east side of town amalgamated into one campaign which conducted meetings every night for five weeks. One of the leading *evangelists,* with a corps of workers, came and took charge. I joined the choir and received a great spiritual blessing. In May, 1918, *seven of us boys* who had been active in the revival meetings *bound ourselves together* for a common cause—extending the Kingdom of God—in our simple ways. We called ourselves *The Young Men's Evangelistic Party.* Within a short time our membership had grown to twenty. We went around to the churches of the community and held meetings, one member speaking, another leading the meeting, others testifying, and others singing. All had a part. We did not restrict ourselves to our own city but traveled to the suburbs round-about.

In 1922, I joined the Young People's Society and tried to take an active part. In 1923, I was elected *vice-president* of the organization. But being vice-president was not enough. I was "wished into" the chairmanship of the Program Committee. Here I confronted *problems that at times were discouraging,* but they helped me in my education. On one occasion I planned a social event instead of having the regular monthly business meeting. I got the speaker, arranged the program, and issued the tickets. The publicity was effective, but the pastor objected to the minister we had asked to speak. It was up to me to get a new speaker. Five days left to do it in! At last we called upon one of our own men but this queered our crowd.

In 1922 I became vice-secretary of the Sunday School and held that position for two years. I attended the older boys' conferences and was secretary for one. Also I had the privilege of attending the National Young People's Convention at St. Paul in 1922.

My grade school life was the same as any child's. The daily routine was followed in every respect. I wasn't and am *not a brilliant scholar,* so have not attained any distinctions in scholastic standings or honors.

In January, 1918, I was graduated from grade school and immediately entered upon my *high school career.* It was hard but I stuck of it. *The first year brought me to the point where I thought I had enough education.* The main reason why I wanted to quit was because *I thought the work was too hard.* But mother, with her eye on the future, and upon her son, determined at least one of the boys should have a high school education. Of course, I was picked on, and it was up to me. I had made up my mind I would get through high school as soon as possible and worked toward that end. I did finish in three and one-half years. I worked on the *school annual,* and other committees. I graduated in 1921 and with a promise from my dad that if I wished to continue further he would do what he could. I thought I would *enter the business field.*

I have never taken an active part in athletics of any kind. Students asked me many times to go out for hockey, the skating team and track. *But I would go out for the team the first day and never go back.* Swimming was of interest to me, and I went out quite regularly. But I could not stay in long as it *gave me a headache.* Most of the time I went with my boy friends, but two years ago I began taking a girl with me. We were always in a group of six, or ten, or twelve. One couple would be married and the rest of the party made up of the family and friends.

My boy chum took a great deal of interest in tennis. What he did, I did, so it was up to me to get a racquet and go out to play with him. For a while we went about every night at twilight and played a few sets. The two of us would finish up the evening by a *canoe ride.* Here we talked over our mutual problems and tried to come to conclusions. These problems consisted of the right way to spend leisure time, girls, and the best way for a boy to handle them, thrift, vacation time with its lures, its possibilities and with a possible chance of being together.

In grade school there weren't many socials to speak of. We had an occasional party in the school, but until my seventh grade *I had never been to one of the homes of my classmates for a party,* nor had any been to mine. Then on several occasions mother allowed me to go. These parties broke up about ten or eleven o'clock. We took the girls home afterwards.

When I went to high school my *social life did not progress* very rapidly until my junior year. I must have been rather shy because I did not enter into any activity or club. A day before Thanksgiving our teacher asked if any one could *help a committee deliver some food to a poor family. My dad had a car which prompted me to volunteer.* I picked up the committee at one o'clock, and we distributed the food. The committee was composed of two girls. One struck my fancy, and I watched my chance to take her out. Having a car it was easy for me to get her to go with me. She accepted my first invitation after talking with her dad. Several times this happened but at all times she had to ask her dad. A difficulty arose. She danced—I didn't. *It was up to me to get her to change her mind* or else to change mine. Mother objected that I go out with her, but I told her that I had a purpose in mind (telling her about my purpose) but yet she told me to be careful. This friendship that had sprung up between us made an opening for me to *get into a number of private home parties* put on by the girls of the high school.

These parties were not the worst kind that could happen but if mother had found about the dancing that was carried on, I believe I would have been disowned. I was usually found sitting in the corner tending the Victrola. One Hallowe'en night the party got "rough." This was the only time this happened. These social times adjourned about one-thirty in the morning. It was two-thirty before I got home. These parties came about once a month—six months of the year.

My junior year started my "girl years." There was one at church whom I had taken to. She always waited in the church vestibule for me, or I would wait for her. We usually took the "milk-man" route which was taking about six other girls home first. I was invited in and I readily accepted. At first upon entering the house I would sit in a rocker. She would get out her album, a special book, or play the Victrola and sit down on a large davenport. *She asked me to look* at the pictures in her album or book and to do *this I had to sit next to her. She would make advances.* My emotions were easily aroused and I would put my arm around her. This is as far as it went. *I quit going with her soon because I did not like to be in the excited condition.* Then, I started going out with her sister. She was not so emotional and things went better. But *it was not long before I quit going with her.*

The girl I had met at high school went into the country *for the summer and in a short while we had started a correspondence. When school opened we began going together again.* At the parties she asked me to dance, but I refused. She called me "slow" and took more of an interest in the other fellows. I told her I would go out and let her have her fling, but she didn't want me to go. *One time she got desperate with me and asked my reasons for refusing her requests for a dance.* The crisis had come. I told her if she wanted a frank answer she could have it. Since then she has never asked me to dance nor has she danced nearly as much as she used to. In fact, she quit absolutely. But that was the beginning of troubles. *We ran across many things which were not agreeable to both of us.*

I was a church-going Christian, while she was an easy-going person, without a care in the world. Was it possible for me to keep company with her and still keep my religious conviction? Up to this time *I had not been a moving picture patron.* I started. She is not wholly to blame for that.

However, I asked her to go to church with me, and nearly every Sunday for two years, we have been going to some church service. We had arguments upon religious subjects, as on other subjects, but we always came to some agreement concerning them. *Today, she is a church-loving girl with a high ideal.* I do not give myself the credit, I didn't do it. I merely asked her once.

In 1921, I was invited to *become leader of a tent* at camp. I accepted and had my first camp experience. Here I had charge of eight boys. I led them in a regular camp program. After the two weeks were up, *I was asked to stay over for the high school period.* I drove the Ford around on errands and pumped the water. One day while out with a secretary and his friend, they became interested in talking college and I sat there and listened. Later, in a talk, *he found out I had a little office ability and offered me a chance* in his office. I worked for him until I left for college.

When my chum signed up for two weeks at camp, he wanted his canoe down there, and so I helped him get it to camp. We did the fifty miles in one day, starting at about six-thirty in the morning. We put up a sail and sailed about thirty-five miles but we had to go against the wind for fifteen, and did not know how to work the sail against the wind, so we had to paddle.

When I was about fifteen years old, my dad bought an old car. *We—meaning the family—chased all around the country with it.* The next car was a Studebaker. With this we traveled to the north woods upon several occasions to pick blueberries and spend a few days among the pines. This was a great experience, as I had never seen any real forests before. We lived in a long cabin for three days and partook of the food and hospitality of the genuine backwoodsmen. Once a year, for three years, we made that trip and every time the place took a greater hold on my heart.

Then, my dad bought another car. He had this during my high school life, and so I made use of it. Dad would put up a little fuss about the high cost of tires and gas, growl, smile, fork over a two-dollar bill or so, and tell me to take the car and get out. Very few times he refused, and on those occasions he had made arrangements to use the car. If he could, he would call off his date or take an old Ford he had. I had more privileges with the car than my older brothers or any one else in the family. *I received an allowance. No one else ever had this opportunity,* and if they did it was not as much.

I have thought of this often and wondered why he should have favored me more than the others.

While a sophomore I persuaded my parents to give me $6.25 to join the "Y." They remonstrated for a week or so, but finally "came across." Since then they have withdrawn their objections and are heartily in favor of the principles of the "Y."

I got into the Employed Boys' Division and *entered heartily* into their activities. I quit the church choir on account of conflicts in dates. The clubs were very interesting to me. The next year *I became president of one group.* That same year I was elected president of the Employed Boys' Council—a city-wide representative group. I was appointed delegate to an older boys' conference. As a delegation we determined to start an inner circle for employed boys. This group met every other Sunday morning at eight o'clock for spiritual worship. This was followed by a light breakfast. The activities in general were entered into by me, and I owe much to the Association for its help.

ANALYSIS OF EDWARD'S LIFE HISTORY

The same questions were put to William Frank, in the previous chapter, but with very different results. Early in Edward's case a strong religious element entered into his experience which became a controlling influence in his youth. A pleasant home life accentuated this influence, and as Edward progressively isolated himself from certain boy activities, like athletics and dancing, his life dug the narrow bed deeper in which it flowed. It became over-stably organized. When I asked him if he were trying in the writing of the above material to prove any theory he said that he set down the above ideas in just the way they came to him.

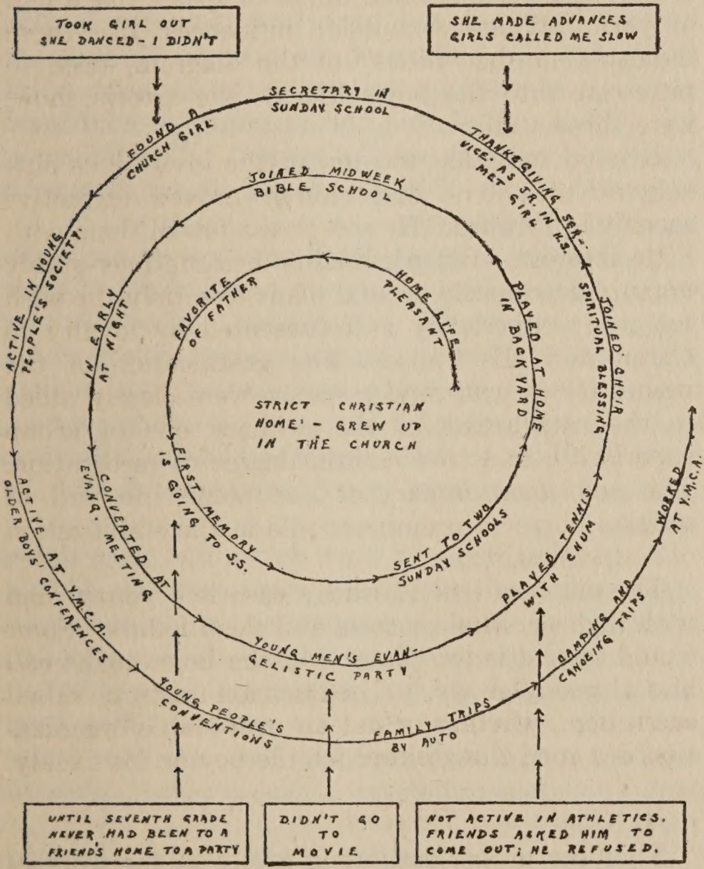
This type of adolescent experience is pictorialized in the accompanying revolving diagram showing how the boy's life kept moving about a controlling center, and winding itself up, so to speak, like a ball of yarn. Whatever outside influences, like those indicated in the "boxes" of the diagram, tried to penetrate into the boy's life, as the arrows show, were thrown off.

It is obvious that too few of the invitations outside of the home and church proved attractive socially to Edward. He accepted a few of them with little interest. His personality became over-stably organized primarily around plans to satisfy the wish for group superiority as represented by loyalty to Christ and His Cause. The gratification of the wishes for security and response were closely allied to the satisfaction of the primary one of group superiority, and to a certain degree of recognition. The emotional impact of the home life and of religion played a prominent rôle in the stabilization of his personality.

The net result in Edward's case is a young man with high personal motives and clean habits. Some would say he is too pious, and the boys might call him a "goody-goody." The question might be raised again here, whether or not an over-stable organization is a good thing either for the boy or for society.

H. Study and Research

That the proper technique to use in the work of organizing personality is of great value must now be fairly clear. To speak of the "over-stable organized" and of the "unorganized" personality may be somewhat confusing, inasmuch as these terms are rather loosely defined in common speech. Just when is it correct to say that a personality is unorganized or over-organized? Some may even take the position that "over-stable organization" is impossible. Others may hold that the disorganized personality


TOOK GIRL OUT
SHE DANCED - I DIDN'T
SHE MADE ADVANCES
GIRLS CALLED ME SLOW
SECRETARY IN SUNDAY SCHOOL
FOUND A CHURCH GIRL
THANKSGIVING SERVICE. AS SR. IN H.S. MET GIRL
JOINED MIDWEEK BIBLE SCHOOL
ACTIVE IN YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIETY
IN EARLY AT NIGHT
FAVORITE OF FATHER
HOME LIFE PLEASANT
PLAYED IN BACK YARD AT HOME
SPIRITUAL BLESSING
JOINED CHOIR
STRICT CHRISTIAN HOME - GREW UP IN THE CHURCH
FIRST MEMORY IS GOING TO S.S.
CONVERTED AT EVANG. MEETING
ACTIVE AT Y.M.C.A. OLDER BOYS' CONFERENCES
SENT TO TWO SUNDAY SCHOOLS
PLAYED TENNIS WITH CHUM
WORKED AT Y.M.C.A.
YOUNG MEN'S EVANGELISTIC PARTY
YOUNG PEOPLE'S CONVENTIONS
FAMILY TRIPS BY AUTO
CAMPING AND CANOEING TRIPS
UNTIL SEVENTH GRADE NEVER HAD BEEN TO A FRIEND'S HOME TO A PARTY
DIDN'T GO TO MOVIE
NOT ACTIVE IN ATHLETICS. FRIENDS ASKED HIM TO COME OUT; HE REFUSED.

is so much more in evidence that over-organization is not a pressing problem. They may wish that boys and young men showed even more stability.

The wishes of parents, teachers, and boys' workers, however, are not the important elements in this study, but the welfare of the young. Neither are dogmatic conclusions concerning the situation helpful. What is desirable and necessary is additional study and research on the subject. The following suggested topics of study should by no means be regarded as exhaustive.

1. Describe in great detail one type of the over-stable organization. Draw up a definition, of your own, of over-stable organization. What factors produced it? How do you distinguish between stable organization, over-stable organization, and under-stable organization? For such a study certain tests by which to determine whether the definitions proposed do possess more exactness should be set up.

2. In what types of boys do we find over-stable organization of personality most common among adolescents? Make a comparative study of certain high-school groups—those who go in for athletics, and those who do not participate in any extra-curricular activities, etc. Or compare boys from religious homes with boys who have not been under strong religious influences. Compare city boys with rural boys.

3. Make a comparative study of the Christian citizenship program, scouting or boy interest classes to discover how far and in what ways they contribute to the over-stabilizing of personality. What

factors, if any, in these programs show the most pronounced tendency in this direction?

4. A careful study needs to be made of social situations from this standpoint of over-stable organization. This should not only include home, church, and school conditions, but religious, educational ideas and theories of family life as well. What kinds of atmosphere in the home produce it? In communities? What theories, religious, economic, educational, show this tendency?

5. What elements of boy nature make the best soil for too great contentment with existing adjustments? What is the ground of importance of habits? How would the habits of a poor lad of foreign parentage be affected by his adoption into a wealthy home? Of how much importance are wishes? Gather case studies from which to make the analysis required by these problems.

6. Work out in detail a process adapted for use in the education of the emotions and the "emotion of the ideal."

7. Study some common types: the boy who always insists on having his own way, the boy who is arrogant, the tough, the athlete, the bookworm, etc. What are some of the factors which produce these types?

8. Make boy-types a subject for study, with reference to the age grouping in which they occur most often. Do people change in type at different ages? Work up a chart of the types peculiar to adolescence.

9. A profit-and-loss statement of the gains and drawbacks of over-stable organization waits upon the gathering of a large amount of facts to sub-

stantiate the conclusions reached. From the viewpoint of the parents, what seem to be the advantages and disadvantages of the over-organization of personality? From the boy's viewpoint?

10. Study the ties between prejudice or dogmatism and the over-stable organization of personality. Touch upon other attitudes which may produce or result from tendencies leading to over-organization.

11. Is the over-stable organization of personality more likely to occur among boys to-day than it did with boys a hundred years ago? How would you study such a problem?

12. Make a study of how to arouse a new interest in a boy who is over-stably organized or how to persuade him that it is unwise to go to the extremes in certain directions which are keeping him over-stably organized.

13. What is the relation between processes for developing character traits or for the teaching of ideals, and the over-organization of personality?

14. Gather data in regard to the attitudes of older boys on religion, girls, money, etc., and then interpret the bearing of this data upon the organization of personality.

15. What happens to any virtue or skill if over-developed? Gather case studies to analyze situations of this kind.

CHAPTER V

THE UNORGANIZED AND DISORGANIZED PERSONALITY

WHILE there is some danger to-day that a boy may carry the stabilization of his personality to extremes, the drift in our hectic modern life is toward disorganized forms of boy personality. It is these risks that give parents, teachers, and social workers most concern. Life to a boy with an unstable personality seems too confusing and too complex for him to make the adjustments necessary. Frequently boys are given to putting a "dozen irons in the fire" and achieving on none of them. Into such a boy's consciousness come a "hundred and one" stimulations daily, suggesting scores of desirable things to do, but he is unable to choose between them and hold to his choice. He takes delight in dozens of wishes but seldom follows the path that leads to gratification to the end. He knows how to wish and dream, but seems to lack the capacity to persevere in the task of achieving his desires. As life is never fully satisfying, the under-organized type of personality is characterized by flighty, erratic and unstable conduct.[1]

When such a boy is faced with situations difficult for him to handle, he is likely to make excuses, procrastinate, or give promises. Again, he may take it out in big talk about what he is going to do, or, worse yet, seek to lie his way out of the difficulty. Not infrequently he "draws the long bow" in tales of his exploits or blames the boss, the coach, or his teachers for his failures. When he is old enough to work, he goes from job to job, unsatisfied, unhappy, and restless. It is only a question of time before some of these boys begin to worry, become morbid or give up the small effort which they have been making previously to achieve.

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[1] The term "unadjusted" is preferred by some writers on personality.

A boy's employer may say of him, "He is a likable lad, but I never saw anyone who could find so many excuses for not doing a job or for doing it some other way." His teachers may not even discover this boy's dilemma, for too often school is organized in a routine way, so that pupils may get along. Many times to be sure one of them may appeal to the sympathy of teachers or social workers, and thus receive the encouragement and help which enable him to succeed temporarily. As a rule, however, social agencies confine their work with boys to a regular program which they have devised to organize the personality of their members. Although they may be aware of a difficulty peculiar to an individual boy, they give very little special attention to him. Those who cannot keep up drop. When a case of this kind is called to their attention, they may say that the fault lies in the boy, who is worthless and "good-for-nothing," and not in their organization or the program.

In many of these cases a proper diagnosis would indicate that the personality was under-organized and the activities too advanced, for disorganization implies a previous organization of personality which has begun to crumble. These boys vary considerably in the time it will require to get their energies organized or integrated. Some boys never seem to be able to unify their experiences into a coördinated scheme of life. "They are like a string of beads loosely strung together of inharmonious emotions, desires, and purposes." The normal boy is able to weld his new experiences and stimulations onto the rest of his life and keep it a solid whole.

A. Degrees and Types of Unorganized and Disorganized Personalities

As a rough sub-classification of the under-stably organized and disorganized types of personality, the following is a suggestive outline:

Group A.—The feeble-minded, the epileptic, etc.

Group B.—The hysteric, the psychasthenic, the psychoneurotic, the dual personality, etc.

Group C.—Problem-types: the socially maladjusted, the unreliable, the flighty, the troublesome, the mischievous, the quarrelsome, and the unruly.

Only in recent years has scientific consideration been given to the problem types listed in the latter group with which this chapter is mostly concerned. Although these milder types of the disorganized personality are so common, parents and sometimes even social workers are content to brand them "bad" boys, and dismiss them with the remark, "They should be punished." Too often these boys are suspended or expelled in the average school, Y.M.C.A., scout troop, or other social agency. It requires too much extra trouble to bother with them in institutions where most boys are willing to conform to the rules and regulations.

Some of these boys are too deficient in physical strength, too unstable and lacking in application to progress long at a time in a definite direction. They need individual attention and help. Do we punish a sick child on the charge of abnormal behavior? Do we not rather display an even more sympathetic attitude toward him? For divers reasons, we are now coming to feel equal concern for the unstable, the disorganized, and the almost completely unadjusted boy. There are scores of these boys who are disturbing elements at home or in school and unable to adjust themselves to their social situations. Their condition is an aftermath of half-hearted attempts that ended in failures, personal problems to which they proved unequal, sex experiences that alarmed them, and other difficult situations in which friendly help might have saved the day. A few cases which we shall give will reveal how extensive is the disorganization of personality from which some quite ordinary lads may suffer.

Case I—Vocational Maladjustment. George finished his first year in college, but was unable for lack of means to continue his studies. His ambition for leadership over-stimulated him to accept a position beyond his ability. Rather than admit his failure, he tried to assume an important air and argue his employer over to his side. He lost his position. The same story was repeated in another position. Then he was unable to get a job for a long time, in spite of his real ability.

How might a situation of this kind produce a case of disorganization of personality?

Case II—Lack of Leadership and Social Adaptation. Victor was eighteen years old. He had graduated from high school and secured a job of a routine character. He worked faithfully and saved his money. Although he longed to mix with young people, he became very much of a recluse, because he didn't know how to approach people, or what to say when he was left with them. Further inquiry showed that he had always been a home boy little given to recreation or play life. His periods of isolation intensified his lack of confidence and made it almost impossible for him to adjust himself to the normal life of young people.

Is this a case of lack of organization or of disorganization?

Case III—Religious Maladjustment. John had attended an older boys' conference while a senior in high school. He was deeply moved by the religious addresses in which the boys were urged to make a definite decision to live the Christian life. On the way home he told one of the adult leaders of the wayward life which he had been leading. The older man did all he could to encourage him and expressed great pleasure over his resolves. However, within a week or two, John had fallen back into the same old careless life. Several months later he attended another similar conference and came to a religious decision, only to have the experience of "backsliding" repeat itself.

Under what consditions does a decision—a wish—result in this type of disorganization?

Case IV—Sex Maladjustment. William, who was a junior in high school, was fairly good in track athletics.

He attended a lecture on sex hygiene which disturbed him so badly that he went to talk it over with the boys' worker. He hung his head in shame, ran his hands through his hair, and wept over his shortcomings. The next day he wrote to the secretary as follows: "It was only last night that I let you help carry my burden. I resolved that I would succeed, if for no one but you. If I am not able to control myself in six months, I will not be worthy of praying to my God for help. If you could only understand how desperate I am."

Under what conditions does newly acquired sex information have a tendency to produce disorganization?

Case V—Disturbing Change of Circumstances. An accident resulted in the deaths of Tom's parents and his two brothers. Prior to this staggering misfortune, participation in family life had stabilized Tom's personality, but now the "bottom dropped out of life for him." Other relatives tried to look after him, and many friends, but they did not realize how hard the boy was hit by this experience. At the points where it hurt most he was left to readjust his own life, to "lift himself, as it were, by his boot straps." Two years later he was still struggling along aimlessly, as a young man of nineteen, his boyhood enthusiasm and determination gone.

What rôle do group relationships play in the disorganization of personality?

Case VI—After-Effects of Institutional Care. During the three years that Harold had been in a semi-military boys' school, where his whole day was well regulated, he proved to be a superior personality. He was a leader in athletics, held in high esteem by his classmates, and looked up to as a boy who could be depended upon to perform any responsibilities he assumed. On leaving the school he went to work in the city. His first job lasted only five weeks but that was due to no inefficiency of his own. It was a month before he could get another position, although he was skilled at his trade. He disliked the new boss and quit after a week. Another period of unemployment followed. At the end of ten months of this irregular living his personality had become very much disorganized. He was a good deal different young man from what he had been when at the school. He had not been able to adjust himself to a new situation, that of city life. He "got in" with a gang and to-day he is in the state reformatory.

To what extent, is this case indicative of a fundamental weakness in military school methods?

Many other chapters of life leading to disorganization of personality could be cited, such as religious conversion; radical teachings; step-parent situations; conflicts between home, church, school, or neighborhood; dropping out of organized groups; and inordinate desire for new experiences, or to be "on the go."

With these situations in mind, personality may be likened to a flowing stream. If the current is strong enough to cut a fresh channel through a landslide, it may be called fairly well organized. If it backs up and becomes stagnant, it may be classed as over-organized. If the current is strong and in such flood that it is all the time overflowing its banks and leaving disturbance and destruction in its wake, then it may be called under-organized or disorganized.

B. *Some of the Factors Producing Unorganized and Disorganized Personalities*

In all cases of personality disorders, the first thing to do is to search for the underlying cause or causes. If these causes can be discovered, the way is opened for their possible correction. As a general rule, however, success in this search is not easily attained.

The blame is oftenest laid at the door of heredity. "The boy was born bad, he comes from poor stock." Someone who knew his parents is certain to recall: "Well, his father was a headstrong young devil, I don't see how he ever kept out of jail," or "The boy is a chip off the old block." A. E. Wiggam in his book *Fruits of the Family Tree* does not hesitate to attribute poverty, ambition, leadership ability, criminal tendencies, and, indeed, practically all the virtues and vices to innate capacities or defects. The exposed weaknesses, so he states, lay concealed in the germ plasm. Intelligence tests have done much to confirm the impression that a lack of success is due largely to the limited mental ability inherited, although many authorities in the psychology of thinking are not as dogmatic on this point as they used to be. They admit that individuals with a high intelligence quotient sometimes are miserable failures, while others with low intelligence quotient succeed.

Experimenters have found that

> there was very little definite relationship between behavior and intelligence. The boy with an I.Q. of 127 may fall just as quickly as the boy with an I.Q. of 77, when he comes face to face with the temptation to take

some candy or "eats" belonging to the other fellow, and a lie seems to hold out the same protection to a boy of high or low intelligence. Teasing and nagging, injustice or being "misunderstood," are equally exasperating and quite likely to produce the same delinquent reaction regardless of rating by mental tests; lonesomeness and homesickness do not assert any intelligence discrimination in making their attacks.[2]

No one denies, however, that cases do occur of inherited defect or weakness, which cannot be corrected.

To this same class of biological causes belongs the newly discovered malfunctioning of the gland secretions. André Tridon has shown how the malfunctioning of a person's adrenal glands will seriously affect his behavior. At the same time, Tridon admits that much of the acute psychic disturbance to which we are subject is due to the conditions under which we live in "our hectic age," that these victims "are wrecks caused by the conditions of to-day."

The work of the schools in recent years in diagnosing and correcting physical defects and organic disturbances has aided scores of boys who had been backward, truant, delinquent or failures. Adenoid operations, correction of eye strain, correctional gymnastics and proper diet have done much to help children under-organized or disorganized for biological causes to readjust and improve their behavior.

The psychic causes of disorganization are becoming recognized to be fully as numerous as the physical and organic sources of deficiency. Foremost among these factors are fears, anxieties, mental conflicts, and emotional disturbances. William Healy is of the opinion that "there is little in the way of misbehavior to which mental conflict may not lead." We have seen examples of

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[2] Report of Glenwood Manual Training School.

> general troublesomeness and mischief making, including destructiveness; stubbornness, obstinacy, chronic willfulness; truancy; remaining out over night and running away from home; vagrancy; stealing, including pathological stealing (we desire to avoid the use of the ill-defined term "kleptomania"); obtaining money by false representations, forgery; exhibition of bad temper, general violent behavior; deliberate malicious mischief and violence; sexual offenses; sadistic offenses; self-injury of the nature of masochistic offenses; injury to others, or attempt to injure.[3]

While certain hereditary defects or lack of intelligence are fundamental factors which help complicate these problem cases, those who specialize in them call attention to a third set of factors arising from modern changes of environment. We recognize that boys now live and grow up in a very different environment from what boys did a century ago. Life to-day is so much more complicated that heavier burdens are placed upon each beginner. The slow, easy-going existence which was so common in the small town and the rural districts a few generations past, stands out in vivid contrast not simply to the throbbing life of a great modern city, but also quite markedly to the many changes in rural life itself, wrought by the automobile, the telephone and the radio.

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[3] Healy, William, *Mental Conflict and Misconduct*, pp. 4-12.

The expansion of commercialized amusements and increased facilities for travel are only two of many elements in modern life which deeply affect personality. Modern youths get much of their recreations in the dance-hall, the movies, amusement parks, and in jazz. They are no longer willing to rest or to read. They must be "on the go." They seem unable to get up group amusements of their own. They must have thrills and stimulations. Nor do many people realize the disorganizing effect which the facilities for increased travel have had upon modern life. Mobility raises problems of accommodation and assimilation similar to those which an immigrant faces on coming into a strange country to live. Every time a family moves, and moving has become much more frequent, into a new neighborhood, important new problems of adjustments must be solved by the children of the household. A young man who moves from job to job, a rural lad who goes to the city, and a high-school graduate who enters college must meet and solve these problems of fresh adjustments to new situations. Only when people have begun to "feel at home" in the new circumstances does the tension of re-adjustment relax.

Plants growing in a meadow differ from those growing in a forest, because both perform these tasks of adjustment, the one to the sunlight and comparative drought of the meadow, the other to the shade and moisture of the forest. Quite as contrasting differences of situation as forest and meadow to plant life come upon the modern boy. New opportunities for a youth are showered upon him which try to force him to keep constantly reorganizing his life in order to take full advantage of them. Or to state it another way, the invitations to growth which his environment extended to a redskin boy were simple and comparatively easy of acceptance, while those of the setting into which a modern boy is born are complex and confusing. Ten demands are made upon a boy nowadays for every one that a young redskin was asked to meet.

Among these burdens is the wider freedom granted to children which tends to increase greatly the occasions of personal and social conflict. The mental disturbances connected with these conflicts are most disorganizing. Thus we see, as Myerson says, that

> man is a bundle of disharmonies, as the great Eli Metchnikoff pointed out, physically, psychologically, and sociologically. When these disharmonies are within average limits we do not notice them. When they are greater in degree, they bring about conduct that at once claims attention. Sometimes a disharmony is merely an excess development of some ability, in which case, if the ability is socially valuable, we have the talented person or genius. This is often the case with the artistic abilities and also with the physical powers. If the disharmony involves an instinct, the emotion, or certain phases of the intelligence, we are brought face to face with the abnormal.[4]

If asked to specify more definitely some of the cultural factors which are disorganizing in their effects, we would mention first the excess demands of too many competing groups.

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[4] Myerson, Abraham, *The Foundations of Personality,* pp. 216, 225.

All of us began our lives in a group environment—guarded from the world. All of us have, in the course of the years, found membership in many more groups. Some of us have spread our lives over and through too many groups, dissipating our energies, losing contacts with the fundamental realities of life, becoming in the end superficial and useless. Even at that, we have not always discovered all the latent possibilities of our natures. . . . Too many dissipating stimuli are likely to destroy integrity and unity. . . .

There are some, on the other hand, who have too few groups, they have been denied access to the world by barriers of circumstances, or by their own timidities; and whole areas of our potential personalities have remained undeveloped, balked—to their own loss and to the loss of the world.[5]

A second disorganizing factor in modern life is over-stimulation due to the artificial conditions under which so much of our time is spent.

The factors in the production of degeneration are as multitudinous as they are varied, and I can find space for only a few of them. The artificiality of many people's lives, wherein night is turned into day, is a prominent factor in the production of degeneration. Now the long-continued influence of artificial light exerts a very deleterious effect on the nervous system; hence it is not to be wondered at that so many men and women of society are neurasthenic. Not only are those individuals who voluntarily and preferably spend the greater portions of their lives in artificial light rendered nervously irritable, but those, also, who are driven by force of circumstances to turn night into day are likewise afflicted.[6]

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[5] Hart, Joseph K., "Social Studies," (*adapted*) *The Survey,* March-April, 1924, pp. 50, 78.

A third disorganizing factor is the uncertainty of what is going to happen next in a dynamic, constantly changing culture.

The supposition that fish do not recognize the existence of the air often has been used to illustrate the insensitive unawareness of which we all are capable in the presence of some encompassing medium of our lives. The illustration aptly fits the minds of multitudes in this generation, who live, as we all do, in the atmosphere of progressive hopes, and yet are not intelligently aware of it nor conscious of its newness, its strangeness and its penetrating influence. . . .

The idea of progress in our modern sense is not to be found before the sixteenth century. Men before this time had lived without progressive hopes just as before Copernicus they had lived upon a stationary earth. Man's life was not thought of as a growth; gradual change for the better was not supposed to be God's method with mankind; and the future was not conceived of in terms of possible progress. . . .

The course of human history is like a river; sometimes it flows so slowly that one would hardly know it moved at all; sometimes bends come in its channel so that one can hardly see in what direction it tends to go; sometimes there are back-eddies so that it seems to be retreating on itself. . . . A Christian knows that human history is a river—not a whirlpool, nor a pond, but a river flowing to its end. Just as far inland, we can tell that the Hudson is flowing to the sea, because the waters, when the tide comes in, are tinctured with the ocean's quality, so now, we believe that we can tell that the river of human history is flowing out toward the kingdom of our God.[7]

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[6] Weir, Jr., James, *Religion and Lust,* p. 216.

A fourth factor of great importance is the disorganized condition of many a modern family.

The family is an institution. As such it may be said to have both a structure and a function. The structure is composed of a father, a mother, and children. Within the family we have more or less constant interaction, both psychical and physical, between the different members. On the other hand, we also have the constant interaction between the family as a whole or of the individual members with the community.

From the viewpoint of the community, the function of the family is primarily that of reproduction and the training of the child in the "mores" of the group. The failure of the child to adjust himself to the "mores" of the group brands him as a delinquent. Society places the responsibility for this adjustment of the child to the "mores" upon the family. Accordingly, if this structure (the family) is made defective in any manner, we must expect that the functioning process will be impaired, resulting in probably imperfect adjustment of the child to the "mores"—juvenile delinquents.

It is in this sense that . . . we use the term "defective family," meaning thereby that the normal structure of the family has been interfered with by the loss of a father or mother, or both, through death, divorce, separation, desertion, insanity, or imprisonment. Where such defect in structure exists, we shall also speak of such a family as a broken home or a "crippled" family, it being rendered thereby incapable of functioning properly. While it is the function of the family as an institution to train the child in the "mores," there are a number

[7] Fosdick, Harry Emerson, *Christianity and Progress,* pp. 11-13, 45.

of forces tending to prevent proper adjustment to the "mores" and to render the child delinquent. Where the family structure becomes defective, we then may have the weakening of opposition to, and the accentuation of these forces which are antagonistic to proper social conduct. To such situations, we shall apply the term "family disintegration," and speak of it as a factor or force in juvenile delinquency.[8]

Finally, the reaction of social disorganization upon the members of the group must be reckoned with. Families with lowered standards of family life, congested neighborhoods, vice areas in cities are hotbeds in which the disorganization of personality breeds. The group control over the individuals composing it has broken down, and many of these persons either weakly succumb or fail in their up-hill struggle to get the better of these evil conditions.

It is important, therefore, that we keep constantly in mind the point of view employed by social psychology in determining character and personality, i.e., the bearing of the relationships existing between the individual concerned and his social situations. First, he may be at fault, due to low intelligence, gland disorders, or a lack of aggressiveness which gives up the struggle to achieve what he desires too easily. Second, to consider the other factor in the problem, his social life and environment may be too complex for him to cope with it successfully.

Quite often religious people set up a disorganizing process in a boy's nature by their efforts to get him to verbally accept some ideal which is in sharp contrast to the way he is living. Let us analyze a case in point. We will say that a boy goes to a camp, or to an older boys' conference, and that, while there, emotional or even intellectual pressure is brought to bear upon him to make a decision to change his habits. Let us assume that his conduct at home has been none too good. He has been hanging around with a gang that use profane language, do too much loafing. At school, he joins in the smoking and the truancy which is rather common. His church connections are weak. His parents are indifferent to ideals and careless in their own habits. At camp, or at the older boys' conference, he is cut from his entanglements in this old environment and is making his first adjustments to a better one. In the beginning, he may act indifferent or even critical, but after a few days of the change he is apt to become dissatisfied with his "old life." New desires awaken that make him wish his life were different. Now, we will suppose, some leader whom he would give all the world to grow up like comes to him and suggests that he ought to mend his ways. Christ, he may say, will help him to do so if he will only make the great decision now. It is easy for an adult to over-persuade a boy in a matter of this kind and most people will confess to a feeble wish they were different.

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[8] Shedeler, Ernest H., "Family Disintegration and the Delinquent Boy," art. in the *United States Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* Vol. VIII, January, 1918, pp. 712-717.

The time comes all too soon for the boy to return home—to the old influences. His trip to camp seems in a short time like a dream. At the start he is determined to live differently, but new habits to fit this determination still have to be formed while the old habits are still responsive to the old influences. He fails. At least, that is the record in many cases. Should he meet the camp leader who inspired him to make his new professions he would likely be told, "Joe, I'm disappointed in you." That is the way religious adults whose characters have been stabilized by maturity will unfairly expect much the same conduct of those still in their formative years regardless of their social handicaps. As they carry on this kind of work, with crop after crop of boys, they keep on paving the way to mental conflicts in the boy, so serious that conspicuous disorganization often results.

Ideals, which are only wished, lead straight to disorganization. Some of these ideals point to theoretical, distant goals, which are quite impossible of realization in the social surroundings or everyday living of the individual. The boys are induced by the incantation-like appeals of such expressions as "hitch your wagon to a star," or "he can who thinks he can." There are tangible ideals which lead to practical gains, however, within the scope of the individual. Immediately, someone may quote the poet Lowell, "Not failure but low aim is crime." Let the reader decide whether it is better for a boy to aim at a high ideal and fail, or at a more tangible ideal and succeed.

In conclusion it might be said that actual study of cases reveals the fact that no one cause is sufficient to explain the disintegration of personality organization. Unique combinations of several causes are always to be found, if the data is complete.

C. *Reactions of Organized and Unorganized Personalities*

The variety of responses open to a boy in a given social situation may be illustrated by an analysis of those made to the appeal of athletics. The average high-school boy in the United States finds that his environment, his culture, his social milieu, and his group emphasize the importance of becoming an athlete. This is impressed upon him by the conversation that goes on among the boys themselves, remarks dropped by teachers, parents, references in school mass meetings, newspaper publicity, and other instruments of social pressure. Every boy must either "play a rôle" in the drama of athletics, or else be content to remain conspicuously out of the picture.

Observation will show that boys fall into several groups in their responses to the appeals of athletics. The first group is composed of those who decline to respond, and disregard the social pressure. When invited "to get into the game," they reply, "what's the use?" Their response is adverse. We might call it *withdrawal.* Another variation of this attitude might be classed as *indifference.*

The second group is composed of boys who succeed in some degree. They go out to the athletic field at the beginning of the season's practice with a certain degree of confidence in their ability to make good, or, perchance, to put the matter to the proof anyway. If they make a good hit in a baseball game, or a touchdown in football, they acquire fresh confidence in themselves, but it is the remarks of the coach, fellow players, and those on the side lines which clinch their determination to excel. After a game a group of athletes play it all over again point by point in their conversation and imagination. The satisfaction which comes from their comments on his "star" play "eggs him on" some more. This second group take a lot of satisfaction in these open comparisons of themselves with other players at the corner hangout.

The third group is composed of players who do not make much of a go of it, but stick at the practice, nevertheless, with great perseverance. Season after season they keep up their workouts with the scrub team. Finally, they are allowed to play in one match game before graduation and given "a letter" the same as "the regulars."

The final group is composed of those who do not and cannot succeed. Their wishes and desires to amount to something in athletics are frustrated. They react to this failure in different ways. (1) Some of them work out a *rational solution* of the situation. They frankly admit that they were not cut for athletes, and cease to feel unhappy about it. They may even jest about their inaptitude in this line. They will talk about the days they played full-back on a famous football team, when it is very obvious, from their slender build, that such a thing could not be. (2) Others first refuse to admit that they lack the ability to become good athletes, and then set up some one of the following *defense reactions.* (a) They try a policy of ignoring the distasteful experience and if it succeeds, it is called *suppression.* (b) Or they try to get the upper hand of the soreness induced by the experience, and if they succeed to the extent of keeping it well in hand, this is called *repression.* (c) Still others invent some physical ailment to remove the seeming discredit. They claim to have developed rheumatism in one arm or to have been sick. Psychology refers to this type of reaction as *conversion.* (d) The most common thing to do is to try to explain the seeming discredit away. The boy will blame his failure on the coach, or the weather, or some other factor outside of his control. This is referred to as *rationalization.* (e) Others try to take the sting away by seeming to regard the whole matter as trivial. They assume an attitude of superiority. Furthermore there are always some who take a "flight from reality" to the realms of *fantasy.* At the movie, or in their day dreams, they identify themselves with the "star" and get a vicarious thrill out of the experience.

Another type of reaction, (3) is known as *substitution.* A failure as an athlete may substitute either a similar or an entirely different line of activity for the old one on one of three levels. (a) If it be on a higher level it is called *sublimation.* For instance, he may begin to paint pictures of athletes, or he may become an actor in plays which contain an athletic interest. (b) He may substitute an activity on the same level. A failure at football may go out for tennis or try out for cheer leader, or become a physical director. That is known as *compensation.* Again, he may substitute an activity on a lower level, such as developing craftiness in gambling games, or at clowning before the crowd at the games to gain distinction.

The final group, (4) is composed of the total failures who give up completely and "go to pieces." They may become victims (a) of depression, and be "subject to fits" of weeping or spells of melancholy, or give way to a (b) shut-in tendency and shun all companionship.

The disorganization of personality among boys shows itself in these same types of reaction to failure, not only in athletics, but likewise in holding a job, coming to terms with religion, girls, home life, and the use of money. In fact, the battles against discouragement which the failures and half-failures of the average adolescent boy force upon him would often baffle his elders, who are so quick to criticize and so slow to help him.

It must not be overlooked that an otherwise well-organized individual may be in a disorganized condition in respect to a particular phase of his life. Some older boy may be well adjusted, for instance, in relation to his home, church, and job, but all "up in the air" in relation to a girl friend. The state of suspense involved in not knowing just how he stands will spread and affect his alertness and dependableness at home and school. Only when his preoccupation with the puzzle becomes acute enough to affect his work, his home, and the other major phases of life, is his situation serious enough to be classed as a general disorganization of personality. It is the cases of this more general disintegration of ideals, attitudes, habits, practices and viewpoints that justify the description of adolescence as a period of disorganization of personality.

Severe spells of disordered personality may not occur in the life of every adolescent boy. Many boys develop evenly and change their life-attitudes gradually without experiencing any open turmoil. Furthermore, as might be expected, there is less trouble over disorganization during younger adolescence, as a rule. Normally, the state of disorganization will last only for the short period which it takes a boy to shift from a less to a more mature attitude in some respects, from a childish conception, for instance, of religion to one more of his own choosing, or from accommodation to school experience to the adjustment required of him in his first job by the working world.

D. *Theories of Disorganization*

The theory of the Freudian psychologists in regard to mental disturbances upon personality has attracted wide attention. It magnifies the disorganizing consequences of *repression* during childhood and adolescence. The repression of the libido (sex) or life energy acts like a dam in a stream. The resistance of the impounded water constitutes an immense and increasing strain and the danger is very real that it will break through and cause a catastrophe. So, the strain due to the blocking off of psychic energy may lead to perversion, maladjustment, and upsetting mental reactions.

In terms of the technique developed in Part I, the strain may prove too much and a disturbance of personality may arise at any of several points between the originating impulse and the "completion of the act" to which it points, remembering that success in the "completion of the act" is one index of a well-organized life. That is, the onflow of the life energy may become blocked in the embryo stage of the wish, in the imagination, or in the full-blown wish. The total outcome is a state of confusion in either case.

There might be instances where the psychic energy has not pushed enough to overcome its own inertia and does not even seek an outlet. This might happen where physical and psychic vitality was at an exceedingly low ebb. Ordinarily the individual is the receptacle of urges seeking some form of outlet as long as life exists. Consequently, the first point where a stoppage of an urge may affect the personality injuriously is in the realm of suggestibility. The disorganized individual receives the visiting suggestions, but he refuses to do anything about their invitations. They do not stimulate his imagination; he takes no interest in them. The boys would call such an individual "a dead one," and psychologically such a person would have to be pretty lifeless, for the responses to be inhibited in as large a degree. We might put the lazy, shy, timid, or backward boy in this class.

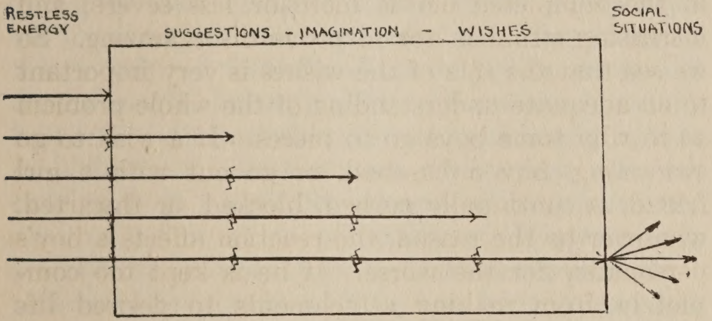
The commoner cases of disturbances to the personality from the stoppage of an urge occur in the zone of the imagination. The restless energy of the boy is under headway to the extent of responding to a few or several of the suggestions which come to him, but its further onflow is blocked in the imagination. He is content to dream about life, and to enjoy the pleasures derived from his dreams. Playing a football game with his imagination as it is told in a story is so much easier and quite as stimulating to him. He gets out of a love scene in the movie the equivalent of the emotional response that he gets from taking a girl to a dance, and it is a great deal less trouble. In time his "flights from reality," his "fantastic life" becomes increasingly dominant. He will be having visions and building air-castles, while his school work and home duties are piling up about him. He is called a dreamer and a failure. Usually he will have nothing to do with the play life of the group, although he may chum with a single pal. A boy of this type likes to be alone, to walk in the woods, to draw, to paint pictures, or to play the piano. Of course, liking to be alone at times or to play the piano are not in themselves signs of a disorganized condition.

Another region in which disturbance to the personality occurs from the stoppage of an urge with drive enough to reach it is the region of the wishes. The boy is restless, and grasps at the chance to respond to any and every suggestion which comes his way. The energy pushes on, carrying a lot of these suggestions with it, into the imagination. After the imagination has worked some of these suggestions over, there may be enough drive left in the initial urge to cross over into the region of the wishes. But these wishes may be too many in number for a normal individual to satisfy, or know which one to choose or to have control enough to inhibit them. He attempts too much and fails. Then he begins to worry, and as a result wastes more psychic energy than he has to spare. Carelessness is one sign of his disorganized condition or he may become confused by the very number of his wishes and just procrastinate.

Another phase of this same disorganized condition occurs when the wishes prove too weak or vascillating. The wishes may be too little persevering to achieve success, too changeable and shifty. The backfire of failure of wishes to find their satisfaction in the completed act is more or less severe, and increasing strain is apt to prove disorganizing. So we see that the rôle of the wishes is very important to an adequate understanding of the whole problem as to why some boys go to pieces. If a wish to go swimming, buy a baseball, or go out with a girl friend, is continually curbed, blocked, or thwarted, whatever be the reason, the reaction affects a boy's personality for the worse. If he is kept too completely from making attachments to desired life objects, he is by the same token thrown too completely back on himself. Finally, he may rebel, or run away, or become a delinquent. His mental and emotional condition makes him a disturbing element in his home, school, and community groups. Disorganization is a "lack of balance," a sign of delinquency in the executive ability required to select and carry desires through to their fulfillment. For this reason, the wishes provide one of the best approaches to all the problems of disorganization.

All of these psychic conditions are interwoven with each other, and in reality they react upon each other to such a degree that it may not be possible to say that the disorganization is in the imagination or at the point of the wishes. It may be both. Abstractions of this character are made largely for study purposes.

A great deal of research and study is going on in relation to this subject of personal maladjustment. There is much to be learned, and the account given here is not intended to be conclusive or dogmatic. The complex situation described above may be graphically pictured as follows:



The arrows indicate the different points or stages where the restless or psychic energy may become blocked, the cases where it survives to confront various alternatives in the social situation, and how it may become perverted or confused by too many alternatives.

The principal requisite for the understanding of a case of disorganization is the detection of the stage at which a break has occurred in the current of restless energy and its attachment to the object desired. It may be that the disorganized person in question cannot hold a job, or keep friends, or save money. The difficult problem is to locate what it is that breaks this vital connection. Is it a weakness inherent in the life energy? Is it due to a lack of permanent attraction in the objects of life? Why do the wishes prove weak and unable to accomplish their aim?

E. *Summary and Conclusions*

Certain phases of modern life make demands upon the nervous system beyond anything previously experienced, which results in many cases in a disordered personality. Adolescence is the period in the life cycle which is most affected by the undue strains of modern life. It is a period of pronounced change, physically, mentally, and socially. The fact that the paternalistic care to which the individual has been used is largely withdrawn at this time accentuates the problem.

Parents, teachers, and boys' workers can acquire and put to good use an elementary understanding of the problem. No claim is made that they should become expert technicians, competent to deal with extreme cases. The insane or feeble-minded do not force themselves upon the attention of the average social worker; it is cases far more amenable to correctional treatment. It would be folly for the average worker with boys to attempt to cope with the individual who deviates altogether too much from the normal, but he would be derelict in his duty if he declined to handle the cases of minor social maladjustment which are common to-day. A little special attention in these early stages may correct what otherwise will develop into a serious problem.

Many workers with boys would not entirely agree with this point of view. They think that their task is primarily with those boys who "mean business." Their work, they say, is to open up opportunities for such boys as are ready to seize them. If a boy is not interested, or gives trouble, he thereby eliminates himself. It is illogical, they say, to let one or more boys disturb the larger group, who are really interested in the program, by making a nuisance of themselves. But the parents of the troublesome boys look at this matter differently. They think of this worker and come to him as they go to the family physician with other problems time and again. He is supposed to be a specialist both able and willing to help them. Furthermore, every time a boy is expelled from a group or drops out dissatisfied, some folks regard it as an admission of failure and an inability to handle the more difficult boy.

If the task of the social workers is one of prevention, then the boy who has taken the questionable step may be kept from a wasted life by assistance in pulling up at the beginning much easier than at a later stage. In many instances, a special worker will have to deal with these problem cases individually, so that the regular work of the institution can proceed unhindered. The public school is beginning to cover this field, through visiting workers, but a disposition to coöperate should not be too much to expect of other welfare agencies.

F. A Case Record of Arthur George

I met the young man first, after a lecture on leadership, and while I have only seen him occasionally since, he has written letters from time to time regarding his problems. These letters form the basis of the material which is included in this case.

At the time of our meeting, he was working as a mechanic. He had completed high school with excellent grades, and during his period of employment he had saved considerable money. In this first talk he expressed himself as somewhat perplexed as to what his future was to be but gave no clue as to the disorganized condition of his personality. In fact, I was impressed by his successful experiences at school and in the use of money. During the second interview, it became apparent that he was ambitious, but he suggested that he hesitated to do "this or that" because he did not know in advance how it would work out. He showed that he was affected with feelings of inferiority, certain fears regarding his ability to succeed, a strong wish for security coupled with many negative attitudes toward life, and a tendency toward isolation. He could not make up his mind what to do. He had become a victim of procrastination.

The ways he handled various life problems are described by him in his diary and letters written during his college career. The reader cannot fail to notice the negative attitudes which he expresses toward himself and his ability. Act after act tends to be blocked or inhibited by fears of one kind or another.

An announcement was made during chapel service at college that Sunday School teachers were needed on Sunday afternoons at a certain mission church. My roommate knew that I wanted to do something like this, so he urged me to apply. I haven't had a lot of teaching experience and I knew very little about the Bible, but I am to meet some of the fellows next Sunday and visit the place.

I'm trying all the time to push out and be a real man. Here I am going to college and people take me for a shy, backward kid.

I got up too late to meet the fellows who were going to the mission Sunday School. I'm sorry, as I would have liked to go, but probably I would not have taken the job, anyway. I'm not in a position to teach Sunday School. I think I am a Christian, by which I mean I accept the teachings of Christ as my "way of life." But I can't understand why everyone who is trying to live right isn't a Christian then.

In the cross country race to-day, I got second place. This is the first athletic event I've ever tried out for, and I am very much pleased with the result. After running the first mile lap, which was a pretty fast one, I was beginning to get winded. I doubted very much my ability even to finish, but I kept right on, all the time realizing if ever I started to slow down, I'd never be able to make it up again.

Second place in a three mile race! If anyone had told me I could do that with my slow speed, and poor endurance, I'd have thought he was "cuckoo." I realize I'd never won, if I hadn't just followed around after Wilson, but the other fellows could have done the same. For the first time in my life I'm being congratulated because of my athletic "prowess." At club meeting the president called attention to the fact that one of the members got second place. I didn't recognize this bouquet in any way except by blushing.

The editor of the college paper asked me to write up some articles on convocation, glee club trip, etc., so I did. Last week they asked for men to apply for various offices. I turned in my application for circulation manager. I was going to apply just for assistant manager but one of the fellows told me not to play "second fiddle," if I didn't have to. Probably I'll not be accepted as I've had so little experience. I am very doubtful of my ability to "head up" such a job, if I get it, but it's time I was getting out and assuming a little responsibility.

I've been thinking about Ellen to-day. What right have I to write letters to her when I don't know that I'll ask her the final question. Do I really love her enough to do that some day? I suppose a fellow never really does know. If I do not love her enough to make a definite agreement next summer, I'll feel as though I've done her a great injustice.

All I can do is to make every day the best possible and not cross bridges until I come to them. And yet, by my letters to her I am making plans to the contrary. I'm in an awful muddle. Sometimes I think I ought to hibernate,—isolate myself—go to some place—and try to settle some of this philosophy of life and some of these problems for myself. I wonder if I could. I'd probably fiddle away the time and come to no conclusions. At present, I'm practically never alone. The only time I do have is just before I fall asleep at night, and then my roommate wants to talk, or I'm too tired to think.

Fifteen minutes later—I'm glad I have these downhearted periods, because it is then that I get a little better appreciation of the real values of life—friendship, school, girls, and folks. It is then that you think about that mysterious "thing"—life. What does it all mean? I suppose I'll never come to any definite conclusion, but

I'd like to talk with more people and get their viewpoints.

Last night I went to a barn dance. This is the first time I've been to a barn dance since last summer, and only the third one since college began. I got along better than I thought I would. It was a mixed group—old and young. I had a good time. I'm getting over my bashfulness.

I got such a good letter from Ellen. She wants me to come over during Christmas vacation. I don't think I'll go for the following reasons: (1) The cost is $30.00. (2) It would prevent me from getting a vacation job. (3) Our short relationship does not justify such a trip to see her. (4) We have a semester vacation and it might be better to go after examinations. (5) The club has a reunion and I wouldn't want to miss that. Of course, I'd like to go.

For sociology, I am writing my life history. I can see how barren my life has been of real friendships and worthwhile activities with people. I hereby resolve to get a little closer to people. I'm going to be more interested in others, in their problems, and in our problems. Why, I hardly knew Rossiter any better at the end of last school year than I did the first week I roomed with him.

This evening, I worked with George on our debate. Then I talked with Marjorie about love and life. I don't think we got anywhere, for which I'm sorry. I'd like to have helped her to a clearer idea. She was very confidential and told me of a love affair she was having.

This evening I went out with the bunch. I'm getting tired of this tête-à-tête stuff—just kidding back and forth. Of course, it has its place and use too, but you don't get anything out of it. I want to engage in conversations that are more worthwhile.

Today I'm 23 years of age. Other fellows are doing things at that age, but I don't know what it's all about yet. My roommate happened to talk about "goals" which keep people going. It gives them something to live for. I reminded him of what so many people say of youth today—they have no goals. All they look for is a good time. He said that was "tommy-rot"—they all have their goals. This cheered me up a little. I was feeling that perhaps, because I had no great call to go out in the world and do some particular thing, that I had no goal—that I was drifting.

Ever since Ellen invited me to come over during Christmas vacation, I've been in a state of doubt, almost indecision, then doubt again, perplexing, hopeless doubt again. This is such a minor issue. What shall I do when I face the real problems of life? Is it necessary that I go at this time? I was trying to decide this problem last night and almost resolved not to go to bed until I had made up my mind. Finally, I came to the conclusion I'd go because: (1) I'd like to see Ellen. (2) For the experience of it. (3) Because I'd be sorry if I didn't. A few minutes later I happened to think of all the opposing reasons, and a few more,—I was in doubt again. Finally, I went to bed at two o'clock without definitely making up my mind.

Art school is almost over. I am a little discouraged, because I did not work hard and faithfully. Consequently, I did not get much out of it. I don't know whether I like art well enough to make it a life work, or not. At times it seems so childish to me and I long for something more active. I dream of when I was working for the contractor. It is tiring to sit so long and do fairly close work. Then such things as driving a bus detracted my energies and thoughts from art. I cannot take on more than one interest and give my best to it. At least, I haven't been able to do so this past summer.

I have returned to Teachers' College because I felt I got my best self-development there, and because I didn't feel that art appealed to me deeply enough. Also, I did not know where else to go. I've got to get busy and lay my plans as editor of the college weekly. I just learned that I've got to make my own appointments on the staff. If I couldn't make the paper a better one than last year, I'd consider myself a poor editor.

A year later, because of his place of leadership in the school, it was suggested that he attend a national student conference. This aroused the same old conflict over the making of a decision. A detailed description of the disturbance follows:

Here it is, the Student Conference has already been in session for the third day and I am still trying to decide whether or not to go to it. I began to really think and brood about it Monday, after I began working here at The House for the week to earn some cash. When the question of going to the conference first came up some two or three weeks ago, I dismissed the idea from my mind because I wanted to earn some money during vacation. But Monday I realized if I continue in my present depressed state of mind, the whole next semester will be ruined. The Conference promised to be a vacation from myself and all the perplexities that I have been battling with for so long. The idea of going grew on me, but it was inhibited by the idea that it would cost about $50.00 (excluding the time lost from a paying job). Tuesday was almost a nightmare for me, as have been Wednesday and to-day. Wednesday night, after monkeying around for an hour (11 to 12 at night) I finally decided to go because it seemed I wasn't satisfied with staying at home. I borrowed $15.00 from a fellow and got another fellow to take my job. I finished work at 1 o'clock A.M. I intended to take the 2 A.M. train and get to the Conference for the opening hours of the day's program.

I began to get ready to go—washed up, etc. All the while my decision to go was being undermined by the opposing arguments. I began to get more and more muddle-minded, more and more sleepy, and my indecision continued. I finally decided again to go. It was now 4:15 A.M. I began packing, I'd had a chance to make the 5 A.M. train if I hurried.

Should I go? I knew I'd be dead tired if I did go. No sleep—and after this hectic time and a hectic quarter—but still I felt I ought to go. Continuing the work I was doing this vacation was remunerative enough, but promised no awakening in me if I desired to begin the next quarter at school. The Conference might shake me up—might take away the muddle-mind I had. But now it was too late to get that 5 o'clock train. I slipped into bed mentally and physically dead tired. I hadn't decided to go or not to go.

I awoke about ten o'clock. I pondered and pondered—should I still go? I had the $15.00 and the man to take my place. I almost decided to go.

I swore at myself and everyone else. I was not cheerful nor friendly, needless to say. This whole mood has been increasing in me this past three months until it seems quite natural now. I am like a lion caught in a large rope trap. At first the problem of getting out probably doesn't seem so serious, and he more or less leisurely attempts to get out. But the more he struggles with it the more he gets entangled.

My whole semester at school was spoiled because of the conflicts in my mind. My big desire is for a unified personality. I believe that is happiness. A religious-minded man might say that that would be being in tune with the Eternal.

All day I have continued to brood about it dully. I am still wondering whether or not to go—and the Conference ends Saturday. But still I wouldn't mind that if I could attain a unified personality there. In all phases of life it is the same—vocation, college, girl, summer plans, everything.

I often wish my struggles were without me instead of within. I can readily understand that he who is master of self is master of others—the mastery of others must come easy after you have peace at home. When I think of all the energy and time I use in combating within myself, I realize how many useful things this might accomplish if put to other uses.

It's Thursday night—I'm still here at The House. Shall I go or not? I think I need some form of "conversion" and the Conference seems to be an opportunity for that.

One blessing about this problem has been the fact that for the time being it pushed some questions out of the lime-light. And that's another matter that I'm afraid of returning to—if I could not solve the little question of what to do concerning the Conference, what chance have I against the bigger questions?

It's Friday morning after work at The House. I sat around with two of the fellows for an hour. I tried to decide whether to ask them to lend me twenty dollars (I hadn't a cent), so I could go to the Conference. But I couldn't decide for sure whether I wanted to go or not, and also I didn't like to borrow money from them. Still I didn't want to give up the idea of going. So we sat around and talked. I still wondered about it when I went to bed. ". . . I'll sleep for a while, then go downtown and hock my watch to get enough money to go." . . . But then I realized hockshops would most likely be locked at that time of the night. Wearying again with the incessant conflict, I fell into a wakeful sleep only to waken the next morning with the problem still before me.

Why don't I go? I ask myself. I believe it would have been for the best had I done so. This way I begin another school year in the same mood I was in all this quarter. The girl question remains unsolved.

Shall I still go? If I go now I'll get in about eight hours or more of Conference time. Would this be enough to get a new hold on myself? I have a dull headache and a tired feeling that does not promise well for the next quarter.

I got to the station and stood outside wondering, "Should I go or not?" I stood about a half a minute and then decided to go.

During his college career, this Arthur George distinguished himself as a scholar, an athlete, an editor, and a student leader. Whenever a responsibility was forced upon him of any kind he did his work well, for his intelligence quotient was high. Psychologically, however, he was always in a quandary, using up big amounts of his energy trying to make up his mind.

1. Go through the material above and list all the mental symptoms of disquietude which you find, such as perplexity, doubt, indecision, etc.

2. Try to pick out the connections between one and another item of this material and the young man's wishes. Is it necessary to attribute his behavior to certain negative wishes?

3. (a) In dealing with this boy, would it be

advisable to make up his mind for him for a while, with a view of showing him the way decisions are made? (b) What possibilities for good would there be in coaching some one of his age to chum with and advise him in his decisions?

G. Study and Research

Characteristic examples of maladjustment and disorganization are known to the average teacher, parent, or boys' worker, and yet, they find the problems they present hard to understand. Many adults have no patience with these boys and others have small sympathy. A wide background in physiology, psychology, sociology and a good general knowledge of human nature are needed to gather the type of data necessary to diagnose such cases correctly. Such an investigator must not let the flippant criticism disturb him of those who say, "He's easy on the boys," "The boys know how to work him," "He's weak on discipline," "A few troublesome boys should not be allowed to interfere with the work of the whole institution."

All larger universities provide general courses, especially in the sociology department, for the study of maladjustments both of individuals and of society. Much of the general social theory expounded in these courses can be applied to adolescence. Frequently, part of the requirement in these courses is the investigation of some special phase of maladjustment as the basis of a paper. Valuable as this type of study may be, it is no substitute for the data which local boys' workers may gather about the troublesome boys with whom they associate week after week. They can outline projects often of greater value than those which are based on no background of experience, and keep in touch with the solutions of the problems easier.

1. Make a study of the literature on the disorganization of personality, especially that which deals with the milder cases. Compare the various modes of attack used in studying the problem.

2. In what economic and social groups do the largest number of cases of disorganized personality occur? What types? What factors account for them? Study carefully some social condition, such as broken homes, immigrant parents, or congested areas, which pave the way to disorganization.

3. How prevalent is the disorganization of personality among grammar-school boys? High-school boys? Employed boys? Does it occur among boys who belong to gangs or clubs, or only among those who are unattached? How would you proceed to gather data on such a problem?

4. Make a rather complete and exhaustive study of the causes of disorganization. To what extent is it due to biological weakness? Low intelligence? Psycho-social factors in modern life?

5. Why is disorganization of personality apt to happen during adolescence? Make a comparative study of cases marked by a minimum of disorganization during adolescence, and also some of the more serious cases.

6. In what ways, if any, are the Sunday school, boy scouts, settlements, or Y.M.C.A. disorganizing influences? Gather sufficient data to study this problem carefully.

7. Study the question of disorganization among boys who have had institutional care. What problems arise? What could be done in the way of correction?

8. Secure the data from a sufficient number of cases to trace in detail the disorganizing effects which result when a farm boy gets city work, or a high-school boy leaves home for college.

9. Take a single aspect of life, such as sex experience, conflict in the home, opposition between religion and science, the relations between ideals and reality, and trace the forms of disorganization to which they may give rise.

10. Is the type of disorganization which often follows a breach in an over-stable organization the more severe? List the problems involved in such a study, and analyze one of them.

11. What part does emotion play in the disorganized types of personality? What reactions happen if an emotion becomes centered in the activity rather than in the end to which the activity should be tributary? Make a study of the problems involved here.

12. Is there any distinction to be made between the disorganized and the wrongly organized personality? Is delinquency a sign of organization contrary to what society desires? What reactions happen to a boy who is organized in certain directions contrary to the desires of his parents, or teachers, or society? Make a study of the disorganizing effects of a police record.

13. Gather cases of one type of delinquency such as truancy, or violence, or tantrums, etc. Make a

comparative analysis and draw up a sketch of the factors which your cases possess in common. How are these factors related to the disorganization of personality?

14. Collect the necessary data in order to analyze and classify the disorders connected with each of the four wishes.

15. Make a careful study of the "ways and means" which the average social worker uses for dealing with the disorganized type of boy.

16. Study the history of the disorganized boy in his home. At what ages does he become a troublesome problem? What home conditions lessen the acuteness of the problem? What conditions accentuate it?

17. What status does the boy with disorganized tendencies receive in social groups:—the home, the gang, the Sunday school, the Y.M.C.A., or the boy scouts? If the disorganized boy is not to be expelled from the Y.M.C.A. or the Sunday school, what should those organizations do with him? Analyze several case carefully.

CHAPTER VI

THE REORGANIZATION OF PERSONALITY

THE phrase "the reorganization of personality" may be used to refer to the process of reconstruction which needs to be attempted in the case of a disorganized or unorganized type of boy. Such a delinquent, irresponsible or troublesome boy needs to be reorganized or made over somewhat, if he is to become a worthwhile citizen in his community. Either his parents, teachers, and probation officers, or some specialist in mental hygiene must attend to re-directing his interests until he shows a steady disposition to mend his ways. These boys are misfits from the viewpoint of the best interests of society. Furthermore, it is common to find selfish attitudes, narrow interests, or deep-rooted prejudices which call for some degree of reëducation or reconstruction. This applies particularly to over-stably organized boys in whom interrelated processes of disorganization and reorganization must be set going simultaneously to remedy their condition.

Quite as often the term "reorganization of personality" relates to the fresh readjustments involved in the normal process of constant growth. Life is dynamic and ever changing, and normal individuals must keep busy readjusting their interests, habits, and thinking, if they are to keep "abreast of the times." In this broader sense of the term, the task of the teacher, parent, and boys' worker is to keep in touch with the changes going on in the boy in order to play a truly helpful rôle in the process. For instance, as soon as a boy begins to take an interest in athletics, the wise adult will take advantage of the opportunity thus created to help that boy to make the most of his new experiences. Or, again, if his interest in church is on the wane, it is well for the adult to draw his attention to new and attractive factors in the church relationship, which through indifference or bias he might continue to neglect.

Details connected with the reorganization of personality assume a peculiar importance during adolescence, for this is the period in which changes take place in a great many directions. Readjustments are then in order in the boy's attitude toward his home, in his religious thinking due to the progress of his studies in science and reading, in his new attitude toward girls, neighborhood groups, and recreation, in relation to his further education, choice of a vocation, and many other important aspects of life. Adolescence may, therefore, be called the period in which frequent readjustments are necessary and wise is that parent, teacher, or boys' worker who keeps well in touch with the boy at this time and is constantly on the watch for effective ways to be of aid in this enriching process.

Certain serious problems arise whenever an attempt is made to reorganize the habits, attitudes, or viewpoints of a person. There is, first of all, on the part of adults a traditional fear regarding change

—all change, whether it be political, religious, business, social, or economic. This same attitude toward the young boy is unconsciously taken by parents and other guardians of society. Such adults seem to see certain beauty in the innocence of childhood, and they fear or distrust any change which may come from the acquirement of worldly knowledge. They seem to prefer that the child should remain in a state of complete ignorance concerning certain aspects of life, or else, at least, to postpone as long as possible the inevitable change which comes when "Santa Claus" theories of life are discarded. The same problem, from another angle, arises in a church school, when a young college graduate begins to discuss openly with boys certain unsettling questions regarding the Bible, Christ, and theology in general. When these boys speak about those matters at home, their parents become worried. In a very tactful way a certain pastor admitted that the boys must face these issues sometime, but he claimed that they were not then old enough for that kind of discussion. The advice of the theorists is to start this reorganization process at an early age, but when that theory is put into practice, it is apt to arouse suspicions and not infrequently open hostility on the part of the settled conservative.

This policy of an early start in the reorganization of personality meets with opposition from a second group, who fear it means that adults will try to force their "pet" ideas on these immature and unsuspecting minds. This is true of the over-zealous reformer or the missionary who is almost insanely bent on converting others to his peculiar brand of religion.

This same tendency seems to be likewise a natural failing of social workers. For this reason, the combination of "good intentions" accompanied by a lack of social understanding has fallen under suspicion.

Better criteria or standards unbiased by personal whims and prejudices are needed as a basis for determining what changes are desirable and the method of re-direction which ought to be used in a given case. For instance, society is made up of several types of people: (1) Those who are criminal and stop at no legal barrier to harm the group, (2) those who are a "drag" on society, such as the hobo, (3) those who look after themselves but are not socially helpful, (4) those who exploit society for their own gain in ways that are not illegal, and (5) those who contribute to the welfare of society. Agreement is fairly general that the criminal class are undesirables and should be reorganized, but views in regard to specific changes and methods of achieving them vary greatly even among the best informed. Were all agreed that "social usefulness" is the right criteria for educators and those dealing with youth to use as a guide, still great differences of opinions would crop out even among a number of Christian groups as to what this specifically involved. This condition of affairs ought not to result, however, in an indifferent attitude.

A. Do Boys Stand in Need of Reorganization?

Nature answers the above question by the growth she forces on them. Society answers it by its constant additions to what it expects of them. Without undergoing a process of reorganization, the boy of six will never be able to do what society expects of him at sixteen, i.e., to begin to take his life "into his hands," re-shape the ideas which he has accumulated and reorganize his childish attitudes into those of a man. A great error is made at this point by those who think that the boy does this all himself, without any interference from the social and group life around him. This process is not confined in its operations to the boy, nor is it solely under his own control, as even the boy sometimes encourages himself to believe. The young man may say, of course, "I have quit the church because I think it is composed of people who talk one way and live quite the contrary." But where did that idea come from? At this point, the influence of some social factor makes itself felt. Perhaps, a book he has read, some speaker he has heard, or some companion put the idea in his head. Social factors, of one kind or another, and in varying combinations, have had a hand in reorganizing his views on that subject.

Likewise, the methods of his parents, teachers, and adult associates to the above pronouncement leads boys to assume differing attitudes. One set of adults argue with the boy and try to convince him that he is wrong. Something in the manner of the argument often strengthens the boy's spirit of revolt as he thus feels forced to defend his stand. The longer he argues for his viewpoint, the more dogmatic he may find himself becoming and the more determined in the conviction which he is defending. A second group will seek by questions to guide the young man to fuller information and to thinking through the situation before finally committing himself. Still a third group may take an attitude of indifference and say, "Let the boy 'sink or swim.' He is old enough to work out his problem himself." The first group of these adults is autocratic in its reliance upon coercion, and the last is too liberal in its advocacy of an extreme individualism, but the method of the middle group bases itself upon the principle that problems of readjustment demand a coöperative solution. As a general rule, young folks are willing to accept help and guidance from those adults who are friendly and sympathetic. This door of opportunity has been used by many Sunday-school teachers, boys' work secretaries, and scoutmasters to help boys during adolescence.

The rôle of the adult in the tasks of reorganization may be made clear if certain concrete cases are given. The account below is from a high-school sophomore, fifteen years old, whose father was a university professor.

As far back as I can remember my father always wanted me to go to both church and Sunday school. I always resented this and tried to duck out of it. I was either sick or had a headache or had a lot of work to do, etc., at Sunday school and church time. My father and I finally came to an agreement through a compromise. I wanted to go once a month and dad wanted me to go every single Sunday in the whole year. The agreement was that I should go every other Sunday. This seemed good to me until it was put into practice. Then the old ducking tactics were brought to light again. Dad threatened me with paddlings if I didn't go, but that never worked out. I didn't want to go, especially because I knew none of the other fellows went. We had a lady teacher who was very earnest in her work, but who could not control us. I doubt if anybody could without a whip and a ready hand. We were finally placed each in a different class of girls. The subjects taught were in the New Testament and the Old Testament. I swallowed all of the stuff. I was too little then to figure it out.

I soon graduated out of this department into a higher group of the Sunday school. Here we boys cut up as usual. Sometimes on week days, another boy and I used to go off and monkey around, and incidentally we discussed religious subjects. We arrived at the conclusion that the Old Testament was the "bunk." The New Testament was too much for us to try to discredit, so we let that stand as it was. Dad continually pressed me harder and harder. I doubt if he would have been satisfied if I had gone both morning and night to church.

My father and mother appeared to me to be very religious and I always tried to be like them, but that idea would pass away when church time came and I got cold feet as usual. I disliked church most when I knew that the rest of the boys were down at Scott's getting ice cream sodas with their Sunday school collection money.

At the present time my beliefs are very vague. I do not know exactly how to explain what I do believe. I do not believe the Bible or in divine creation as described in Genesis. I am an evolutionalist. I do not believe there is a material Christ. At times, I think there is no divine power at all, and then again, I believe there is an Almighty. My viewpoint has not had a sudden change, but seemed to change gradually under the fire of logic and certain talks I have heard.[1]

A great many questions arise as one reads this material. To what extent, first of all, is this boy organizing his religious attitudes in sound ways?

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[1] Document 30.

and in unsound? On what basis should we judge? In what ways, if any, could a friendly adult hope to succeed in helping the boy to build on his own good ideas? Would the average Sunday-school class be able to assist this boy where he needs the help most? This is a fine sample document by which to trace in detail how social influences were prime factors in producing his attitudes on religion.

This next document is composed of extracts from several letters written by a college freshman.

> I see by your remark about getting a drag through some grisly coeds, that you have also acquired the art of "Politicing." I "politiced" most of the dances I rated. It's just as you say—get all you can out of 'em and drop 'em quick. You must be a "he-vamp," all those nice things being given you. What's your secret?
>
> What is this White City Ballroom? Is it a Joint? Or is it a meeting place for the "400"?
>
> Yes, Vic does step around quite some. I'm meeting heaps of "Debs" through him and I ought to blossom forth into *society* next year.
>
> (Later letter) I may or may not be a social lion next year. So far I haven't met a "Deb" that I'd care to "rush" if my life depended on it. You see, one has to "rush" a "Deb" for a whole season, if he expects to "rate" any dances the following season,—and I haven't seen a girl I could stand for that length of time.
>
> (Later) I'm sick of ugly ones—ye gods. Our coeds are, as a group, the homeliest, dumbest women I've seen or hope to see. Of course, there are exceptions, but they only prove the rule.[2]

What, if anything, could be done to readjust his attitude toward young women?

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[2] Document 31.

The final document comes from an older city boy, seventeen years of age.

> Well, the first time I did it—you know Lefty, don't you? Well, he was broke and we were walking Madison. When we came to the corner we went east over where the "bozos" hang out. We found a guy there. He was stewed, and we asked him if he wanted to buy a drink. You know how, and took him by the arm and walked south and went into an alley.
>
> I pretended to give him a drink—well, I fished for a bottle in my pocket, and Lefty stepped in back of him. I watched the alley entrance from where I was, while Lefty socked him on the head. We went through his pockets kind of fast and beat it. We only got four "bucks" and seventy cents, but that was enough to eat, see a show and still have a little left. I was kinda leary about getting by, but wasn't afraid of being caught except to have my "old man" find it out. He'd have killed me.
>
> Why should I be ashamed? There wasn't anyone there but Lefty and he's done it lots of times. Well, what's wrong with it? The "bozo" was drunk anyway. He'd have spent his dough on "moon" or else somebody else would have got it anyway. I wouldn't do it to a decent guy, but it's different up there. Well, of course, it was kind of exciting, but—hell, it's not so bad.[8]

If this boy came to you with this story, what would you do? It is evident that the behavior of these boys is due to attitudes which have been socially produced. Thus we see that to condemn the boy who thinks that Sunday school is the "bunk" and say his attitude is wrong will get nowhere. He will keep an acting out this attitude, regardless of the fact that it is based on incomplete data or biased notions.

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[8] Document 32.

In many cases problems of reorganization are complicated by the well-meant but ill-advised meddling of some adult, as in the following case.

A new teacher had been put in charge of a section of a boys' dormitory in a certain boarding school. The boys had been in the habit of breaking the dormitory regulations, partly through a spirit of adventure, and partly because they were too strict and they proposed to continue to break them under the new head of the hall.

A number of times they were able to fool the teacher pretty badly, and finding that he was not able to keep very good order and being rather peculiar in his physiological and psychic make-up, the boys began to think that they were going to have a better time than ever breaking the rules.

The new teacher thinking that his reputation as a teacher as well as his job was at stake, grew rather desperate. He began to think of ways in which he might catch the boys at their pranks and punish them.

Instead of adopting a fair and open policy he began to try to overhear the boys in their talks with one another and began to walk up and down the halls in slippered feet.

One night, when the spirit of the boys seemed especially that of a desire to cause trouble, the teacher placed his chair out in the hall behind a pillar and watched to see whether any of the boys would come out. This made all of the boys angry and made them consider him a sneak. This was in reality the beginning of trouble for him. One night he overheard a boy tell another boy that he was going to visit him after he was supposed to be in bed. The teacher waited for the boy to step outside of his room, but he waited in vain. Finally, he went to the boy's room and looked through the key hole and also listened to find out whether he was there or not. The boy was there and he happend to have hold of the door knob. The boy was so disgusted with the teacher that he turned the knob and threw all of his weight against the door in such a way as to knock the teacher over. The boy apologized (deceivingly) and of course, the teacher could do nothing to the boy for it.[4]

It would be more correct to say that the problem here is one of interaction between the boys and the teacher, and yet, the responsibility for the failure rests with the adult because of his age and position.

Likewise, in the home, the very existence of many of the boy problems of readjustment are in reality due to the way the parents have been treating the child. Very often cases of delinquency come up in the Juvenile or Boys' Court which are shown to be due to the deficiencies or mismanagement of the parents in dealing with the boy. It is the parents who need to be reëducated in these instances. Here is a case in which the home and the boy might be reorganized to their common advantage, as well as that of society.

My home was the scene of many a family quarrel between my father who often drank to excess and my mother who was very excitable and jealous.

However, under normal conditions, my home life was very happy with six brothers to have a good time with and everything I could expect from my hard-working parents.

Father and mother separated in January, 1916, and I was the oldest at home, so I assumed part of the responsibility.

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[4] Document 33.

I revolted against my mother's interference with my keeping company with girls and late hours. Home was more of a boarding house to me and I left on several occasions because of differences with my mother.

I rebelled against what I considered as heartless treatment by my mother, when she insisted on having me spend all my Saturday helping her wash and scrub, and not giving me the afternoon to go swimming and fishing or playing with the other boys. I ran off against her wishes many times and threatened to leave home for good.[5]

It is plain, therefore, that were the work of gathering and digesting data of this kind from a large number of so-called normal boys performed, our knowledge of the lines of readjustment on which to proceed, if their lives are to become a contribution to the welfare of mankind, would be much improved. Of equal importance, would be the new light thrown on the amount of reorganization needed in the social and economic conditions in the community where the boys live.

B. Ordinary Processes of Change

Almost unknown to themselves changes are in progress in the lives of boys due to the daily experiences which they encounter. No boy can go to camp for two weeks without changes taking place in his attitudes, habits, and ideals, as the result of his new experience. Indeed, all workers with boys, and their parents as well, are able to recognize these changes which take place in boys as the result of attendance at an older boys' conference, or member-

[5] Document 34.

ship in a Hi-Y club, Pioneer band, or Boy Scout troop. Often the boy himself recognizes that he is "different from what he used to be." An older high-school boy at the close of a summer's work in a factory remarked that he noticed a certain carelessness in his language, habits, dress, and manners due to his summer associations. He went on to say that these changes came about so gradually that he had not realized that he was letting down his standards. Again, the arrival of a new baby in a home also brings about radical changes on the part of every member of the household—husband toward wife, mother toward her other children, the other children toward one another and the new baby, and so on.

Most adults do not give much attention to the nature of the effects which these changes are constantly exerting on their boys. They are not critically aware of them, or they just take them as a matter of course. They do not see that the coming of the new baby into the house involves something more than casual readjustments if a spirit of mutual helpfulness is to prevail in the home. On the other hand, the intent of much of the strategy used at present in the work with boys, carried on by the church, the Boys' Club Federation, or the Boy Scouts is to assist boys to cut out as much lost motion as possible in readjusting themselves to each one of these normal changes. In taking a boy to camp, or to an older boys' conference, in helping him to make a team, or through a club to direct his energy into wholesome channels changes of personality of great significance are produced.

Much research still remains to be done before anything like a complete charting can be made, with any degree of accuracy, of the steps by which an infant becomes successively a child, a boy, a youth, and a man. Just as fast as better information is available concerning the inward processes of producing changes of personality will workers with boys be able to exercise greater influence for good because that new knowledge will enable them to play a much more intelligent rôle.

It would be impractical, of course, here to attempt an exhaustive analysis of the factors listed by expert scholars for producing changes of personality during adolescence. Mention only will be possible of some of these factors and a suggestion given of a method which can be used in making more extensive researches.

First, we will take the influence of one personality upon another. Often this seems to be magnetic in character—something intangible, yet very real. The boy seems to assimilate the spirit of his father, or of a teacher, or a boys' worker by a process akin to that of symbosis. In other cases, the influence is due not so much to direct impact but is mediated through something the individual teaches. Data gathered from many cases are needed for profitable study of the rôle of such factors as unconscious suggestion, hero worship, the sense of expectation, how one individual inspires another and the part which *rapport* plays in affecting personality. The negative factors, such as conflict situations, and attitudes such as withdrawal, and the psychic dislike for certain individuals need to be investigated as well.

The documents which are given herewith have been selected from a large number, and are offered not as conclusive, but to suggest the kind of data essential for study of the personality factor as it functions in the processes of changing and reorganizing the lives of boys.

Apparently, I have been born with dynamite in my hands, because I always wanted action, action. I couldn't live without it. Take some of my various grammar-school experiences. I would come into my class room with my hands dirty, my hair all mussed up, looking as if I hadn't the slightest idea what a comb looked like. And my face! Good Lord, the teachers only know how many times they sent me out to the lavatory to wash and see if there was any possible chance of recognizing me as the lad who had the name of L. Z. Having my clothes torn and my shirt covered with dirt was nothing unusual. I was a devil. Probably you understand how some teachers try to pound into some thick numbskull what knowledge is, but it always went in one ear and out the other. So when I think it over I have pity for my teachers. Learning was the least on my mind. But I managed to pass with my class somehow each year. I remember an instance when I was in the seventh grade that I will never forget. Now there is a girl involved in it, but I don't want you to get the impression that my mind was on the girls. But I guess it must be human nature, anyway. I imagine we all were kind of sweet on some girl in our grammar-school career.

There happened to come into our class a boy from another school, and the teacher put him in the seat I was occupying which happened to be across from my girl and I moved back one seat. Well, somehow or other I got it into my head that my girl took a liking to this new fellow and naturally I got jealous. Behind me sat my classmate. In fact, he and I chummed around school together and we were known as the twins, although there was about as much resemblance between him and me as there would be between a monkey and a bear. Anyhow, I fixed it with him that I was to go up to the teacher and complain to her that my chum was always poking me with his foot and that I wanted my old seat back. It worked, so I changed my seat. Then up pops my girl and said, "I don't want to sit across from Louis. His hands are always dirty, and his hair is always mussed up." Well, you can imagine how I felt. I turned as red as a beet. And as I recall, that was the first time I ever blushed. But to think that my girl didn't like me any more and liked this new fellow. So I started plans to make that fellow wish he had never come to our school. It was a funny thing, but after that I always came to class looking as clean as a pin.[6]

When I was in eighth grade in grade school, I met a fellow just about my own size. He happened to live on the same street and about ten houses away. I met him coming and going to school quite often, until we finally began to like each other quite well. I had no sooner made his acquaintance, when another fellow meved on the street not far away,—a minister's son. After seeing him several times, one day I asked him for a ride on his bicycle. He gave me the ride willingly, and from then on we became friends. Through me, he became acquainted with the first boy, so we formed a regular triumvirate. My uncle bought me a bicycle, so we all had one. We would go swimming together and take little short trips, which I will never forget. I said that he was a minister's son, but that didn't mean much. Maybe that was the reason he was full of mischief, because he was a great big fellow for his age. It was through him that I learned to smoke. He was interested in radio. He built and rebuilt them all of the time and I helped him. Although I did learn some bad things from him, I also learned some good ones.[7]

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[6] Document 35.

My home was of the best. As all parents are, they think there is nothing too good for their boy. If I was what my mother wanted me to be I would be in the White House in Washington to-day. If I was what my grandmother wanted me to be I'd be in the pulpit. If I was what my father wanted me to be I would be a student in the Moody Institute to be one of the greatest Bible scholars in the world. There is only one of me, so I will have to disappoint some of them.[8]

He grew up in the country. He had given little heed to religion, though he had attended church quite regularly, and knew considerable about the Bible. Few of his intimate friends attended church. The boys of the neighborhood joked about it, and he shared their attitude. Church was for old men and women. To make a bad matter worse, his parents sent him to a free Methodist school, where parts of the school had "the powers" regularly, and where the students made jokes of the bonnets which the women wore, and the long locks of hair. This heightened his dislike for religion. He was fourteen years of age.

That winter, out of sheer curiosity, he attended an evangelistic meeting in the old home church. There was a great deal of interest in this revival, but he had no thought of doing anything but laugh at the freak ideas advanced. In fact, he thought little of it, except to make a joke of it, in company with the boys of the town. The meeting progressed nicely, and the boys in the rear kept the snickering up. One of the personal workers was an old man who had shocked grain day after day with this boy. He was a personal friend of the family of the boy, and the old man Rooney meant a lot to the lad. Rooney was a diamond in the rough. At the appointed hour he left his seat at the front of the church and walked to the rear of the room. He looked the boy in the eye and remarked, "The Lord has laid his hand upon you this night. Come on." Just what really took place, the lad never knew, but without a moment's hesitation he left his seat and followed the old farmer.

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[7] Document 36.

[8] Document 37.

Years have passed and the boy, now a young man, has been in Christian work ever since. His life has been different from that day to this. Other experiences have added to the determination to carry on, but its apparent beginning was in the Evangelistic campaign in that rural church.[9]

These documents contain instances of some of the kinds of influence exerted by boy and girl associates, parents, teachers and other adults. Changes for the bad, as well as for the good, need to be studied in this manner.

A second influence in a boy's life is brought into play by his group connections—family, Sunday-school class, boys' club, athletic team, etc. Here again the combination of personality represented in the group determines the amount and nature of the development it exerts upon the members who compose it. On the other hand, the activities or program of the group backed as it is by mass psychology may be the dominant influence in the development experienced by its members. If the program is made exceptionally inclusive, so that loafing on a street corner, let us say, is classed as a program, then this aspect of group associations becomes of the greatest importance.

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[9] Document 38.

When in grammar school, I was not held down by my folks. I was allowed to pick my own companions. I was influenced by the friends with whom I associated. From a strict and religious influence of my mother, I was kept from going wrong. The friends whom I associated with exerted their influence and slowly wove their web around me. I soon took to their evil habits and customs. "Raising cane" became a hobby, but this life was no more than that of the average boy, and that gang life was a stage which I went through. The influence of this group led me into smoking and an acquaintance was formed with vulgar language.[10]

The period in my life, when I made the greatest advance came between the ages of 11 and 16, when I was a member of a boys' choir in a large Episcopal church. That choir was a real choir, and was led by a man who was a real leader, in every sense of the word. He knew boys and knew what they liked. His success came through this knowledge, and I thank him for some of the habits I now have as an integral part of my everyday life.

In church or at rehearsal, he was an autocrat, in every sense of the word. He knew by the movement of the muscles in the back of our ears just whether or not we were singing, and in every way he ruled us with an iron hand. But, outside of the church time, and in our free time was where this man won our admiration. He placed pool tables in the parish house, set up all kinds of other games, and saw to it that we lacked nothing in the way of athletic equipment. He was the kind of a man who would take a Saturday afternoon off to come out to see us play football or baseball. Then in the summer he

[10] Document 39.

would take us camping, with the help of the other men in the choir. He ran his part of the program with an iron hand, but saw to it that he knew what we wanted in other respects, and provided it. He didn't set these things up as a prize, but contributed them because he knew that we would do better work if they were there. Our reward came in the one dollar we received every month from the church.

The things I still retain from these six years are many, and I will only enumerate those I consider the most important: (1) Absolute promptness and regular attendance in all things. (2) Neatness of person as required in church. (3) Love for good music. (4) Coöperation with others. (5) A real church education, and a desire to follow the church.[11]

One day when a junior, I was high jumping in the gym. I went higher than anyone in the class and the fellows talked me into trying out. I went out and got first place. In my last year I started out for varsity football and my feet went bad. I had to lay off. Two weeks later when class football started my feet had improved. I went out and was elected captain. Finally the coach started shifting me around on the varsity team. In the end I made tackle but did not play enough to get a sweater. This came when I played basketball that winter.[12]

When I'm out for track or cross-country—my Aunt won't allow football—I must keep in training. I can't eat sweets or ice-cream, can't smoke, and I must get to bed early. I got to thinking. If an athlete is not allowed to do this, why should anybody else do them? The athlete must be in condition. That is why I refrain from doing those things the year round. Of course, sometimes I don't get in very early, but in the main, I usually stick to the rules and am in the "proverbial pink" all year.[13]

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[11] Document 40.

[12] Document 41.

It is not enough to recognize in a general way that these group relations influence the boy. An insight into social processes going on within the group which produce the results is of more importance. What is the effect of supervision upon a group? Are better formative results obtainable if the program is somewhat predetermined, as is the case with the Boy Scouts, or when it is arranged on a project basis? How important is the spirit of conflict, rivalry, or fellowship within the group? What happens in the life of a boy when he is elected to some office, or an opportunity to do some service for the group arises? In addition to internal conditions and group relations, other factors of peculiar importance in stimulating the development of personality are books, the movie, economic factors, the school, travel, etc. In many of the above situations the conscious effort of adult, parents, teachers, and especially religious workers to aid or direct the boy constitutes another factor of consequence.

Third, the efforts of the boy himself to achieve results in any line of endeavor are of primary importance in this process of constant change. The range of activities which occupy his attention determine the direction of his growth. If he is drawn into physical pursuits, then through athletics, hiking, or camping he will develop physically. Mental growth results from expressing his ideas in conversation, writing letters or study. Spiritual growth, æsthetic achievements, or political success are basically due to activity in that direction. Where expression is thwarted or repressed, the growth becomes perverted or warped, but the struggle of the soul goes on just the same.

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[13] Document 42.

The growth of personality in one direction or another through some program of activities is significant insofar as the individual is able to mobilize his whole self in relation to that enterprise. We say that "he puts his soul" into the game, or into his job. This demonstration of devotion to basketball, music, or whatever the activity which occupies the attention for the moment integrates the whole "self" for the time being. Furthermore, the spirit with which the person participates in an enterprise makes the activity or the experience truly spiritual. In such cases there springs from the activity itself a fascination, and a new power if felt by the individual, which encourages him to go on toward greater improvement.

This struggle of the adolescent to achieve some worthy goals is a pronounced characteristic of all boys. There are times when adults do not agree that the activities are worth while, and therein arises the present-day conflict between youth and his elders. Even when boys steal, we must remember that to them at the moment the activity seems like a necessary solution to the situations they may be in. Where the activity is socially acceptable to society in general, then adults have a point of contact for helping the individual toward nobler citizenship.

C. Technique in Reorganization

The methods in use for changing boy behavior vary rather widely. Practically all of them are of the trial and error kind which cannot even be checked up accurately for lack of the requisite expert knowledge. Several case studies are given as a basis for the reader to make a brief study of his own.

I. Shock or Crisis

Only once did I get in with the wrong crowd. I was about fourteen at the time and in some way I formed a friendship with another boy about my own age. He had been smoking before, so I took up the habit. We would buy a package of cigarettes and then play truant from school as often as we could get away without being caught. This went on for about six months and then one Sunday I slipped away from home without mother knowing where I was going. I met my friend at his house (his parents did not object to me as mine did to him). We loaded a couple of twenty-two rifles and started to go hunting. This was my first time to go hunting on Sunday. I was a Christian and a member of the church, and I was a little opposed to going but was easily persuaded. We had walked only a few blocks when my friend took a shot at some birds in a tree. This was in a thickly populated neighborhood and against the law. I began to remonstrate with him about this, but about this time a car with two policemen arrived on the scene and took us to town to see the day sergeant. At the time I had a cigarette in my mouth which I let fall when I was caught. On the way to the police station I did some rapid thinking and some earnest praying. I could picture the sorrow and disappointment of my mother when she found out about my escapade. I made a number of promises to God while on that ride, and I believe I have kept them until this day. I know that I have never smoked since then and I became very active in church work.

It was on this ride that I lost all respect for my friend because he cried and begged the officer to let him go. I was too proud to do this, so I never opened my mouth but I am sure I felt like crying. When dad came down and got me out about an hour later, he never even spoke and it was never mentioned at home except when I got home my mother said that she was sorry; that was all but it was enough. I had learned my lesson well. The other boy kept company with someone else after that, because I was always absent from his society.[14]

One day I was caught shooting dice in the "Y." They sent for my mother. I saw her cry and plead with them to keep me in the "Y." And here I got a new conception of life. I found you could not go wrong without being caught, so I resolved to do better. I joined the church, and it helped me a great deal. There was a change in the personnel of the boys' division and this helped me also. I had a clean record with a new man. It was hard to do right. I would see boys who would try to influence me into my old habits. I would not heed and they called me yellow and "Howard the Coward." Of course, this meant a fight and they knew it. The same council I was sent before for fighting, I was made president of later. This gave me something to work for, and I made good.[15]

Frequently, a serious crisis will wake up a boy, but it can only be depended upon to start him in a new direction and other influences must be called into aid in completing the task. These critical situations act like switches on the railroad. The emotional is a very pronounced factor in these right-about-faces. There is more or less mystery about the way in which they sometimes reach their "ends" without the employment of any of the usual ways and means.

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[14] Document 43.

[15] Document 44.

II. Discipline

The theory underlying this method holds to adult responsibility for the conduct of the child. Discipline is a system of rule by force, by which adults seek to dominate the immature members of the group. It is external control. It seeks to direct change by means of physical pain, threats, ridicule, or by rules and taboos. Without a doubt, it is the most prevalent means of re-directing the life of children, probably because it requires so little thought and resourcefulness in the user.

My dad was the sort of a fellow that ruled with an iron hand, and when he said something to us kids at home we knew it was time to hop or suffer the consequence. He believed that every child should be forced to attend Sunday School, that children had no business with money, and many other things.

Now at the age of about 13 to 15 after being in school awhile and seeing the outside more, I began to resist some of the things my dad had warned me not to do.

I remember especially one experience, my dad would never allow me out at night. He said the place for boys at night was at home. While at school I very often would hear the fellows talk of the many things they did at night—so I made my plans. I said to myself—well, what's the use of staying here at home all the time? So I told my brothers that night that I was going. "How dare you?" said my brothers. "Dad said you must not go to town—never—he will hit you good if he catches you." "Oh, he won't catch me, I shall go out through the window after he has gone to bed. Nobody will see me, besides I don't care a darn if they do. All the other fellows' dads let them go, and I'm darn tired of staying here all the time when the other fellows are having a good time."

So that night after my dad had gone to bed, I opened the window and gently slipped out of the house. I walked along the street very much puffed up, enjoying the rare treat of doing something, that of putting it over my dad. I got away with it.

Well, this went on many nights until one night my dad caught me. I got a "lickin' " but that didn't do me any good.

This is one of the many experiences I had in disobeying my father. All my father ever thought of was a good beating, and so, knowing I would catch it that night, I would very often think—well, I'll get a licking anyway, so I'll do something to get one for. And most always I would never stop with one thing, in other words I wanted to get my money's worth, and I did.[16]

A boy of eight years entered the public school system. He was in the third grade. Unfortunately he drew a teacher who knew little about teaching, and was rather unattractive. He complained a great deal about her, but was always told to do his best and be sure he gave no cause for offense. His grade cards were not very complimentary, and his parents wondered about it, but were waiting until the next period might place him in another room. Word came to his home that the teacher was having a great deal of trouble with the boy. It finally reached a climax, when unexpectedly, he came from the school with a note from the principal that he was incorrigible and had been sent home until he could do better.

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[16] Document 45.

The boy had always been resistful. If things did not go to his liking, he would refuse to move. It had been a source of great embarrassment to his parents, but this made a bad matter worse. Down deep, it was realized that the boy had much on his side of the question, but before him loomed long periods of going to school. To take his part now, or to condone his offense might lead to more serious difficulties in the days ahead. It was discussed by the parents and finally decided that nothing would do but uphold the teacher's hands. She had something in her favor, because the child had always been at least a minor problem in school. Other teachers had found difficulty in keeping him in line.

The boy was kept in waiting until a decision was reached, then a swift but effective chastisement was administered which kept within humane bounds, the boy was given a note to the principal that he had been soundly punished, and he was immediately sent back to school.

Four years have transpired. He has been in a large number of rooms. The incident has never been referred to since. No complaint has ever been filed against him. There have been no rumblings of discontent from the school about him. His deportment has always been normal, and his parents are proud of him.[17]

These cases give just a glimpse of the resultant success or failure of this method. The degree of punishment seems to be determined by how angry the parent or teacher is when the punishment is given. There seems to be no exact relationship between the nature of the offense and the amount of punishment inflicted.

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[17] Document 46.

III. Reason and Suggestion

The cases which follow illustrate the use of reason, suggestion and laying responsibility on boys as a method of producing desired changes of personality. Note the shift in emphasis from external to internal forms of control. It takes a great deal more pains to produce changes in this less spectacular manner, but the changes possible in this way are more significant.

My suspicions were aroused a few days ago that some of the boys in one of the groups were gambling on games of pool. I was not able to prove this, or to get any substantial evidence. There were four boys playing while I was with another group in a manual training class. During this time an argument ensued which resulted in a quarrel during which several blows were passed. My attention was drawn to it after it was all over.

To-day two boys came in, one of whom was in the quarrel. He was the toughest of the whole gang, known to all of the police as "Bubbles." He was the logical one "upon whom I should work" in settling this difficulty. When he asked me if they could play pool, I said, "Bubbles, what was that trouble you had in your game several days ago?" He said there was no trouble.

"How much were you playing for on the side?"

He paused for a moment and said, "We weren't playing for nothing."

"You can't tell me that. I know more about this than you think I do."

"Who told you that we were playing for money?"

"Never mind who told me. I want to know how much you were playing for."

He paused for a moment and then said, "Fifteen cents."

To-night the club in which all of these boys are members had its meeting. At the start of the period there were about eight present, followed by five more. This presented a very fine opportunity, because "Bubbles" was not with them. I took a chair near the wall and was soon surrounded by the boys who wanted to know what the activities were to be for the night. I turned to one of them and asked him to tell me about the trouble they had at the game of several days ago. He would not commit himself. Following this, the following conversation ensued:

"When you play for money what interests you most, the game or the stakes?"

"What is it that makes you want to play the game when there are no stakes?"

"Is it the thrill of uncertainty while the issue of winning or losing remains undetermined, or is it for the chance of gloating over the money you are lucky enough to win?"

"If this gambling is not right, am I doing right in giving the table to you? Are you getting any real good out of it? Or does my purpose fail when money is the object?"

After a lengthy discussion, I summed it up as follows: "It would be of no use for me to tell you that you can't gamble again. You would go to some alley or shed where I can't see you and gamble all you wanted to. What I say is that you cannot gamble in this house. The discussion we have had to-night has shown you some of the bad points. Think it over for yourself, and when you see that it is better to play the game for the fun of it, that is what I want you to do." [18]

Recently on a strect car I noticed a family in a double seat—father, mother, and boy of six or seven. The lad was riding backwards with his father, and annoying the mother very much by putting his dirty feet on her coat. Several times the mother asked the child to keep his dirty

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[8] Document 47.

feet off her coat, but with little result. Finally, the father said, "Why don't you sit over there beside mother? You can see so many more Christmas trees in the windows." The suggestion took effect immediately.[19]

The use of reason by parents, teachers, and others who deal with children, and the practice of talking matters over, is constantly on the increase. Even with little children this method proves of great value, especially if one of its objects is to help a child to learn to reason for himself. Some educators hold that the decision reached by the child is not so important as the training in thinking which he gets out of it. That is, Document 47 illustrates too much of a desire on the part of the adult to determine the answers the boy should make. The effectiveness of suggestion has been recognized for a long time in the field of advertising, where it is exploited for private gain, but as a tool for consciously directing conduct its use has been more limited. Consequently, we do not know, as yet, all the assistance it can be in dealing with immature minds.

Closely allied to reason and suggestion, as ways and means for reorganizing behavior, are motives or wishes of the kind which release in action. When a boy has defined his wishes, they do more than anything to determine the direction of his life. To reorganize such a boy, and keep his personality growing, wishes that correspond to the chosen activity, or a shift in his sense of values is needed. If the goal be better health, then a wish with drive in it to keep him "in the pink of condition" will break up careless habits of eating or sleeping. If a greater sense of the value of religion can be kindled in him, then suggestions whose aim is to re-direct his interests have a good chance of adoption. The task of reorganizing personality in order that its growth may not cease revolves around instituting appropriate changes in his sense of values.

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[19] Document 48.

Recently, a boy was called to my attention who was securing money by questionable methods in order to attend expensive parties with his "bunch." In order to maintain his status in the group, he needed far more money than he could get at home. Furthermore, work was taboo in his social set, although gambling was not. As a general rule, this problem would be attacked at the point of the morals of gambling and stealing. As a matter of fact, however, results will be more satisfactory if it is possible to relate the cure more closely to the roots of the disease. The boy's philosophy—his sense of values—needs to be so changed that "keeping up" with a group who are socially and financially out of his class will come to be regarded as a foolish course to pursue. Involved in the same tactics would also be a change of mind from getting money in questionable ways to a decision in favor of securing it honestly or doing without.

The point has been made that in a well-balanced personality, each four types of wishes must have some opportunity given it for expression. In any case of reorganization, if the wish for recognition had not been satisfied previously, should not opportunities for its gratification be provided? Often, one of the wishes seems to be more dominant, and the personality has become organized around it. In that case, is the wish for new experience a most desirable one to encourage? How would you decide which of the four wishes should be encouraged most in a particular case?

IV. General Environmental Factors

Environmental changes have long been recognized as exercising very important formative influences on personality. This is due to the fact that personality is extremely susceptible and that the group sets up certain standards for its members, and punishes an individual who disregards these standards with ostracism. The control which this general environmental factor exerts is exhibited to some extent in the document which follows:

> The neighborhood in which I lived was a very bad one, in which there were always a large number of gangs. I belong to the worst gang in the town called the "399." It was once the "400" but one boy died. We would steal and gamble, but our favorite pastime was fighting. I was about the swiftest runner in the gang. When a fruit man would pass, I could grab something and run. The man would try to catch me. The other boys would be hiding and after the man had left the wagon to chase me they would raid it.
>
> We had no other place to swim so we would go to the river. My mother had warned me about going there. One of our boys was drowned there, and some way my mother found out I was there, and the beating I received I will always remember. When I was made a leader, I was fifteen years of age, and I got to the place where I thought no one could lick me. I was tall and skinny, so they called me "Skinny." We had gangs in school, and fought every evening. My mother tried very hard to

change me, but because I had no father it had little or no effect on me. I would fight girls as well as boys. My mother bought me a new suit, and told me not to wear it to school. I did not heed her and wore it anyway. A girl cut it and I blacked her eyes.

We finally moved from this neighborhood to one with a better type of boys. My old habits were hard to break. I would still fight. Only the Boys' Club saved me from an awful ending.[20]

Environment, of course, is an altogether too inclusive a concept for much to be done with it here, and yet the mention of the general social setting as a main source of formative influence over personality is necessary. In addition, special recognition should be given to the rôle which the individual plays in relation to the group. A change in group relations, as indicated in the following documents, affords a unique opportunity for a boy to change his rôle.

I worked in a dry goods store Saturdays and after school. School started at eight in the morning and I stayed until three one week and five the next, alternating in this manner. Somehow I began to pick the lower types of fellows for companions. I had no real friends near, as moving about caused me to have to make new ones. I had lost all interest in church and stopped going except on rare occasions with the folks. I began to feel incompetent. It seemed as though I would never have confidence. I was afraid of everyone. I was not yellow or a coward but I was lost. My instructors did not understand me. I seemed to be changing completely. I set my mind to knock the lack of confidence out of myself by hanging with a tough gang. We spent much time in bowling alleys and pool rooms or on the street "piking" women as we called it. In the summer I worked in the shop and got to using snuff and tobacco continually until I had formed the habit strongly. Summer nights we spent in cottages at the lake, dancing, laying around smoking and sometimes drinking. During my last year of school I worked from six to twelve each night in the bowling alley. It was considered a tough hang out by the better class of people.[21]

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[20] Document 49.

A boy in a certain school had been causing a great deal of trouble. He was constantly in some kind of mischief and nothing that his teachers might do to make him behave seemed to do any good.

Twice before in desperation they had suspended him from school for a short time. Each time he started to obey the school regulations a great deal better, but he soon fell back on his old ways. Only one or two of the teachers thought that he had improved at all and they were new teachers.

Finally deciding that nothing would do him any good, they sent the boy away permanently. He went to another school where be got along a great deal better but he had a rather hard time since his reputation had preceded and caused him trouble. Finally, he won the confidence of his new teachers and was able to keep in good standing.

At the first school the boy had sincerely tried to behave better than he had been doing, but his teachers were not willing to trust him. They expected him to cause more trouble and that kind of an attitude on the part of a teacher is pretty sure to bring the expected reaction from the pupil. Another problem which the boy had to meet was the reputation which he had among the other pupils. They had known him as one who was willing to enter into all sorts of mischief and take the lead in them and they still expected him to do so, because temptations were constantly presented to him and if he wasn't willing to join in on them he was called a quitter and yellow.

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[21] Document 50.

Going to the new school gave him a better chance since the students and the new teachers were a little more willing to trust him.[22]

The major thesis of this book centers in the fact that it is possible for boys' workers in many cases to arouse the desire, encourage, guide and help a boy to change his own conception of his rôle with only minor environmental changes. In such instances, the boy gets a new notion of what he can be and tries to measure up to this new rôle.

Tom was an overgrown lad of fifteen. He preferred to eat, sleep, and lie around. At the Boys' Club, he had the reputation for being a loafer and a bum. The director of the club, when speaking of Tom said he was lazy, lacked pep and acted lifeless. Tom was well aware of this situation, for the Club workers were not hesitant about telling him that he was "good for nothing,"—and he lived up to his reputation.

A new worker joined the staff. He became friendly with Tom. One day he suggested that he would help him get a job. For the first time, Tom showed unusual signs of life. The position was secured, but before Tom started on it, the boys' worker described with considerable vividness the kind of an office boy who succeeded. He used such words as initiative, wide-awake and ambitions. A follow-up letter to the employer some weeks later indicated that Tom was carrying out the new rôle in his job successfully. In addition to this the boys' worker watched for the ordinary daily opportunity to comment on the new life, power and aggressiveness which Tom displayed in some game, while helping about the club house, after a swim, or in his conversation.[23]

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[22] Document 51.

When a boy plays a negative or bad rôle, the adults who detect the weakness are inclined to nag, argue, and find fault. This makes the boy resistful, angry, or sulky. The best results are produced by helping the boy to discover a new and better rôle. Magnifying the good things a boy does tends to encourage their growth. This process of reorganization may go on in the home, school, playground, or camp as adults have natural opportunities for associating with boys.

D. Social Adjustment and Boys' Work.

In every neighborhood, school, Y.M.C.A., or boys' club, certain troublesome boys interfere with the normal progress of things. People do three or four things in these more critical situations when they attempt to solve them. Some folks pat the lad on the shoulder and say, "Oh, you're O.K. You will come out all right." Or, they may offer some "offhand" advice, such as, "Get in with a better crowd," "Go to night school," or "Join the church." These two makeshifts are the equivalents of telling a boy, who has asked for suggestions on improving his garden, "Plug along, it will come out all right," or "Why don't you plant onions this year?" The more intelligent thing to do would be to make an analysis of the soil, and any other factors involved in the process. This is what the research required to prepare a life history of a boy seeks to do.

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[23] Document 52.

The following is suggested as an appropriate technique to use in making an approach to the more difficult boy:

I. The Approach

First of all, it must be borne in mind that a desire on the part of parents or Sunday-school teachers for a certain boy to change his conduct is not the principal thing. The boy himself must be sensitive to his failure, at least in a small degree, before much can be done. This change of attitude or desire on the part of the boy which impels him to improve is what people mean by ambition, waking up, or insight. He will respond if a friendly approach is made to him in an emergency like a death in his family, or a bad setback in school. Adults must learn to *sense these crises experiences* in a boy's life and play the friend to him at such times more skillfully.

Take the moments in a normal boy's life also when he is bubbling over in response to the spur of ambition. He wants to talk to somebody of his plans regarding going to college, a vocation, or of grooming himself for some post of leadership. Many adults to whom such a boy tries to give his confidence at these times fail him in taking full advantage of this opportunity to help him organize his entire life more effectively. Again and again workers with boys fail to show themselves alert enough in capitalizing chances of this kind that perfectly normal boys lay at their feet. Above all, we must learn a better technique by which the boys may get every ounce possible of development out of their experiences. Boys' camps and olders boys' conferences abound in associations and activities which have real shaping power in them, and it is high time that leaders of boys become wide awake to these opportunities, and make better use of them.

Some boys almost need to be forced to try their wings. Only something in the nature of a crisis seems to stir them to action. A boys' worker should bear such a boy in mind and give him an ordeal to face. Furthermore, it is equally important to supply such experiences with the right developmental possibilities in them at every step in the process of the individual. Experience, like the sunlight, stimulates growth, but the wise gardener knows how to regulate the sunlight so that it will not destroy his tender plants.

This question of approach is of the first importance because not much can be attempted with any hope of success until a right footing has been established with the boy. The barriers between the two personalities must be broken down, and mutual friendliness and confidence developed. If the boy gets the idea that the adult is poking around trying "to get something" on him, his approaches will not be much of a success, for the boy will not open his mind far to him.

II. Background

It is all too common and unfortunate to base conclusions upon insufficient facts. Of course, it requires patience and hard work to accumulate facts, but it is on an adequate supply of them that sound theories are built. If the facts are too meagre, the theories derived from them will be defective. The theories of a personality which are to be used as a guide to the reorganization of it should have an abundance of data back of them.

Let us consider a bit further the processes that may be employed to get facts about another person. Have you ever talked with a strange boy whom you met on a train for the first time? Or do you remember that first day in camp with strange boys occupying the tent assigned to you? How did you get acquainted? It came natural to make conversation by relating some of your own experiences. As time goes on, and you learn more about the boy, the better friends you become, the more you are in a position to help him. How helpless one would be in talking with a strange boy about his choice of a vacation, or going to college, compared to talking with a lad of whom you know something about the whole social background of his life.

When it is necessary and desirable to fill out the background, obtained in conversation, the boy may be induced to write letters about himself or a complete life history for you. Some of those who use this method write helpful return letters to the boy. There are several advantages in having this material written out. In the first place, it requires enough time and effort of the boy to test the sincerity of his desire for assistance. Second, the writing of the story seems to relieve the boy's mind of a certain emotional strain or tension. There is a sense almost of lightheartedness after telling somebody. In the third place, it enables his correspondent to deal with him to still better advantage after he has thus shared in his problems and emotions more fully. The story opens windows through which he can look at life through the eyes of the boy. Were the boy to tell his story orally he would use up much more of the valuable time of his advisor. In addition the interviewer would find it difficult to remember the details with sufficient clearness for after study. Finally, many a boy will write with greater freedom and mention things he would not care to in conversation with an adult. Of course, simple cases will be handled without this device of a life history. This is especially true as the worker becomes more practiced in diagnosis.

Where a more complete knowledge of the background of a boy's life is essential, the following materials may be read over with him before he begins to relate his story.

The Quest of Life

Within every soul there are fires and smouldering coals of desires—expressed and unexpressed. Every life is a search after something. Sometimes it is the ambition to hold important positions, often to gain independence, frequently it is a quest of friendship. So your story will tell vividly and dramatically the Quest of Life.

The questions which follow are not to be answered like an examination paper, but they should start your mind to working in certain directions which will help you to recall the story of your life. Avoid general statements such as, "I belonged to a tough gang" or "I went with fellows older than myself." It is better to picture incidents you remember, describe what happened, and what you thought at the time, rather than moralize and defend. Give details.

Life is a conflict; there is good in it, and bad. Incidents which seem questionable to you, or very personal, are frequently important. We are trying to get at facts which will help you to help yourself. Tell the whole story.

Year after year life has been winding up—something like a ball of yarn. You will find tangles, as in a fish-line. There will be a tendency for you to slide over these difficult and personal incidents. Remember, the very purpose of this whole scheme is to help unravel these difficulties. Then, and then only, can we help you to rewind and reorganize your life to make it more effective.

State your age again and again in telling about the incidents you relate. Dig back into childhood as far as you can on each question, rather than write about the present only. Write as much as you care to. Continue as long as it is interesting. Let the pages pile up. Be free and frank. Tell the plain, unvarnished story, but do not exaggerate. Do not let anyone see or read your material. This is confidential.

You will be amazed and happy at the new understanding of yourself which this experiment will give you, if you enter into the story wholeheartedly. You will have a new grip on life. Don't hurry; dream, think, take your time. Write as if you were writing a letter.

1. What kinds of work have you done? Tell about job after job. What special incidents do you remember? What things interested you? What annoyed you? How did you change your mind from time to time about your vocational choices?

2. Write in detail about groups, gangs, clubs, or cliques to which you belonged. What did the groups do, good, bad, or questionable? Cite incident after incident to show the life which the group led. How did you get into and afterwards become a member of the group? Tell what your place was in the group—leader, etc. Did

the group ridicule you, give you nicknames, etc. Why did they act as they did?

3. Who were your boy companions? How did you influence each other, for good or bad? What conflicts arose? If you care to do so, write about your sexual experiences with boys, men, girls, parents or groups. The word sex is used in the broad sense and should include affections, crushes, intimacies of life, as well as the channels through which sex knowledge was gained and the ways it influenced your life.

4. What difficulties, sufferings, and hardships have entered your life? Were you ridiculed, or punished, or repressed? What did you do in response,—rebel, give in, run away, lie, withdraw, or fight? Did you dream in your sleep? Or day dream? Describe some of the dreams you remember most vividly. What things did you worry about? What troubles did you encounter in your life?

5. What inner strivings and secret wishes that you hoped were some day to be realized were you fond of? Were there things you wanted and felt that you never could get? What defects did you discover in yourself? Were there feelings of weakness and inferiority? When did you discover these? What did you do? Did you feel superior, or seek to give that impression? How?

6. What expectations did you feel that your parents, teachers, and others were counting on you to fulfil? Tell definitely how this influenced your decisions and plans. Did you go to church, select certain friends, etc., to please someone else?

7. Tell about your home. Who made up the family? What things did you like? What things did you wish were different? What was the attitude of the family religiously, politically, socially? Write about the kind of community and neighborhood you lived in.

8. What vivid memories and impressions do you have of school life? Tell about your play life. What were

the things in school that irritated you? What did you like? What was your place in the school? What honors did you seek—did you succeed or fail?

9. Tell about your religious experiences. What was the influence of the church upon you? What chances did you have to assume responsibility at church or elsewhere? What things impressed you about religion? What problems and difficulties arose?

10. Write about the influences of the reading you did. Tell about the movies you liked and the impressions they made. Recall the influence of speakers, of travel, or of any other important experiences not already covered. How did these factors help shape your life?

11. What does life mean to you? What is it all about? What is it for? What have you decided at different times to do about it? Go back into boyhood and try to trace this side of it as it developed and changed. When did you discover first that anyone had an aim in life and that you were expected to have one? Or have you just been drifting?

12. After finishing your life story, look at the present for a moment. What is it you want most in life? Not what you ought to want, or what you have achieved, but fearlessly and frankly, what are your five most impelling desires? What plans, if any, have you for accomplishing them? [24]

Notice that the first three questions are concerned with work, friends, and groups, or the simple friendly contacts of life. No special pressure should be exerted to get a lad to relate sex experiences, although boys will frequently do so. The next three questions are of a psychological nature. In most cases, the boy finds difficulty in expressing himself unless his conflicts are serious. The third set of questions deal with connections institutional in character,—the home, the church, and school. Question 10 assures the boy information will be welcomed on points which the boy considers important, and which may have been left off the list. Question 11 is a philosophical one, and the last question invites the boy to take a forward look and his answer affords a glimpse into his wishes.

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[24] Herrick, Robert, *The Master of the Inn.* This short story is of value to those who wish to write a life history.

Caution should be exercised in securing life histories that none of the boys become afraid that you despise them or may expose them. Every person lives behind a barrier, back of which things go on or have gone which no one knows about. This is his safeguard of privacy. It protects his sense of decency. This is subject to certain risks when pen is put to paper and a life history written. As a boy wrote in a letter:

> When I am with you, I feel just like I think I will feel on Judgment Day, when I face God. You know more, in fact everything, every detail about my life, and that is something no other person knows, except God. I love God, and yet I fear Him. I love you, and yet I fear you. I always feel that you are calculating, judging, and reading me. When one has no secrets from a human, is it any wonder they are uncomfortable? I was never sure but that you might judge me unworthy and expose me to my friend.[25]

On the other hand, the boy's greatest helper is his particular chum, who knows all about him and believes in him just the same. The above situation need not arise, if care is taken.

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[25] Document 52.

In addition to conversation and life histories, it may be necessary to have a physical examination; or a genealogical study may be made. Others may desire to give the boy certain psychological tests which are growing increasingly common. If such is the case, it is best to have some expert deal with the boy.

III. Technique of Interviewing

After the gathering of this written data and its analysis, next come the interviews, one of the most important features of this plan. Many boys' workers have become so accustomed to thinking of and dealing with boys in groups that the practice of interviewing, or of personal work, is becoming a lost art with them. There is no denying that this is the most effective manner of dealing with the average boy or problem boy.

In the average interview with a boy concerning matters like vocational choice, religious problems, or acts of delinquency, the interviewer may proceed about as follows:

(a) He may seek to gain the boy's confidence and be sure of a friendly atmosphere, (b) then he will take pains to impress upon the boy his ability to help him, (c) next, he will give the boy some advice and make some specific suggestions, (d) finally, he will require the boy to follow his directions. This form of interview is based upon the idea that it is the parent, teacher or boys' worker who is responsible for the conduct of the boy, because their judgment is more mature, their knowledge or special ability superior and they have a right to dominate the situation. All that is left for the boy to do is to be submissive and obey orders.

Psychoanalysis, as pointed out by Fordyce, has given rise to a new technique for the conduct of the interview. Instead of attempting first to generate a friendly feeling all around, the interviewer accepts whatever state of mind the boy may be in as a matter of course, and continues this passive attitude no matter how his charge's feelings change. He knows that friendly advances are likely to invite a rebuff, especially with boys of the disorganized types. For this reason, the interviewer or analysist does not seek to repel any signs of skepticism as to any benefit coming from this rigmarole on the part of the boy in the first interview. He makes no claims to professional authority, so the party of the second part is unable to run to shelter behind responsibility. He does not argue with the boy. In a word, the boy is forced to hold himself responsible. This passive attitude on the part of the adult interviewer is a most difficult one for many moralists to understand and practice. The best thing for the adult to do, in addition, is to look at the case as the boy does but make it plain that it is up to him to work out plans of his own and also to assume responsibility for their execution. This technique turns the interview into a joint project, in which the interviewer seeks not to dominate, but rather to stimulate the boy to think over and plan his own course of action.

A word of caution at this point may prove helpful. In certain cases of emotional upset, the adult interviewer must be careful to think of another's emotional problems unemotionally. For instance, he must not let himself become a "parent substitute" to the boy, he ought to discourage hero worship of himself, and avoid merely satisfying his own curiosity regarding the boys emotional conflicts.

IV. Working on Solutions

Some general suggestions will now be offered, not hard and fast rules, but examples of concrete, practical and commonsense, rather than any form of mystical, solutions to these problems of personality. The clue to the course followed in the early interviews is again taken from psychoanalysis.

(A) The Individual's Story. In psychoanalysis, the mere recalling of all the facts related to any disagreeable experience accomplishes a whole lot of its purpose. With the aid of the physician, it is possible although difficult, for the patient, to recall little by little a great mass of related experiences, until finally the important secret memories that are doing the harm are dragged forth into consciousness and become known to the person receiving the treatment. It brings great relief to the patient to understand the history back of his inner conflicts and complexes, and often frees him at once from his sufferings in a way that seems almost miraculous.[26]

The technique just described claims no marvelous results from its way of conducting this part of the interview. But it is possible, with the aid of his life history, to give the boy new insight into certain aspects of his problem. To draw these hidden facts up into consciousness is the first big step toward giving the boy "conscious control" over conditions involved. To prove to a boy from his own data that he is talkative, resistful, or a spendthrift is one step in helping him to see how big a task is thus set for him to regulate this conduct.

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[26] Groves, Ernest R., *Moral Sanitation*, pp. 18, 19.

While an interview may yield certain valuable results in some instances, work on the case should not stop there. It is true that many boys are so constituted mentally, or so situated socially, that they can "work out their own salvation," when once their attention is called to what is required. In other cases, the analysis and early interviews only form just the beginning of the process.

(B) Inspiring Self-Confidence. Notes should be taken here that a boy may get to dwelling too much on flaws in his character, or on the negative aspects of his life. That policy is weakening. For this reason, it is best to encourage a boy to divert his mind from his difficulties after he has experienced the first relief from these new sources of explanation. There is value to be gotten out of dwelling upon the thought of power, goodness, and joy. The story of the Great Stone Face is a case in point. Of course, there is also a limit to which auto-suggestion can be beneficially utilized. While the disorganized boy cannot "lift himself by his own bootstraps," yet he should be encouraged to do all he can for enthusiasm and effort on his part is primarily important.

In this same connection prayer and religion offer themselves as a source of power. Religion differs from auto-suggestion, and other phases of self-help psychology, in that the mind is focused on an objective source of help—God—rather than a subjective one. Auto-suggestion is self-centered, and introversive, while prayer and religion look abroad for aid.

(C) An Emphasis on Reality. Boys and young people have always had a way of treating the present too lightly. Someday, they say, they will take life seriously, or do their tasks rightly. This attitude is no more nor less than trusting in magic. Its effects upon personality are apt to be serious, for it sets up habits of procrastination, carelessness, indifference, and despair.

The young need to put more emphasis on the present, and magnify the importance of what is on to-day's program. This comes natural to the small child, but all too soon his elders divert the mind from its preoccupation with the stage which his life is going through and confuse him with vague talk about "the goal of life." Consider how much faster a boy would develop if his school were satisfied to relate itself more to his present life situations rather than constantly puzzle his mind with thoughts of college and what he is going to do when grown up. Think what a junior in high school would do with that year if he felt that it was to be the most important year in his life. The present would be examined with care. He would enjoy the sense of importance which his life had acquired and in turn would pitch in and control it more effectively. He would begin to receive a demonstration of the principle that achievement in life comes from doing the task at hand successfully. He would understand that "what he is to be, he is now becoming." If he is not pleased in some particulars with what he is, he would set out to change them now, rather than put off amendment to a future day which may never arrive.

Many boys are stumbling through their boyhood because their minds are divided and discouraged between the distant goals of life rather than on the steps which have to be taken immediately by them. Goals, cut off from the means for achieving them, are a prolific source of discouragement and depression that make for failure.

The emphasis on far-distant goals tends to produce an attitude of putting things off, a spirit of "we'll get there in time" or "our chance will come later." An emphasis on present opportunity gives the tasks in hand such added significance that a boy throws himself into "the play" that is being called. Think of the power, the united drive, which results from such concentrated determination!

Week by week the piano pupil who is intent on the practice of his assignment is rewarded by a sense of progress that really keeps him going on and on toward his goal instead of taking it out in dreaming. Habits, morals, conduct, and life itself, grow successfully in the same painstaking way, and if the child fails to interest himself thus in the lap of the course just ahead of him, the waving of a mystic wand, the emotional plea for a noble decision, or the stern commands of parent or teacher are of little permanent avail. Too often moralists try to focus the mind of youth on some generality like the glory in living a noble life. The natural procedure in the gymnasium is to introduce the novice to a few simple exercises, in keeping with his present limited capacity. By practice in doing the elementary exercise, a boy begins to develop muscle coördination and, of even greater importance in this process, he gains confidence. With beginners no Director of Physical

Education gives a demonstration of the giant swing, the most difficult exercise on the horizontal bar, and then asks the class to try it. Trials by the inexperienced would only result in failure, discouragement, and loss of confidence.

> Children proverbially live in the present; that is only a fact not to be evaded, but it is an excellence. The future, just as future, lacks urgency and body. Asking them to get ready for something, one knows not what nor why, is to throw away the leverage that exists, and seek for motive power in a vague chance. Under such circumstances . . . a premium is put on shillyshallying and procrastination. The future prepared for is a long way off; plenty of time will intervene before it becomes a present. Why be in a hurry about getting ready for it? The temptation to postpone is much increased because the present offers so many wonderful opportunities and proffers such invitations to adventure. Naturally attention and energy go to them.[27]

The remaking of personality or *the taking a life as it is* and making it what it might be is a process of enrichment. It is the perplexing, yet fascinating, business which must start with the boy as he is. The best educational practice does not talk about thrift in the abstract, but works out a plan to make it practicable for a boy to save week by week. Right procedure would take the boy who has "a dozen irons in the fire" and work out a program of activities to cover the week, which is more in keeping with his present capacities and humanly possible therefore for the boy to live up to. It would take the lad who cannot hold a job and help him to find elements of interest in his present position, or get him a job at which he would be able to stick. Through the interview method, his actual problems would be analyzed and the proper readjustments secured. The boy would be guided all through the critical period of reorganization involved in the remaking of his life habits. Overnight results cannot be expected. Growth takes place slowly.

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[27] Dewey, John, *Democracy and Education*, pp. 63-65.

(D) Group Relationships and Friends. The significance of small groups in the lives of the members composing them is of recent discovery. Every boy seeks status or recognition among his fellows. He does many things with a view to gain favor with the group. This is the point at which much maladjustment begins. If he is unable to secure or maintain the desired status, he may drop out of the group and take to spending his leisure with reading or carpentry at home. Or, he may push his way into other company and gain status among adults and older companions. Either way of going off at a tangent tends toward the abnormal and fails to bring about adjustments with those of his own age. Here is where precocious children run into difficulty. They consider boys of their own age only mildly interesting, so they would rather spend their time off by themselves or seek companionship in older groups. Likewise, an only child may find the adjustments required of him in his relationships with boy-groups peculiarly hard to make. In the home, as an only child he has his own way, but not so in these play groups.

As a rule, it is the boy who shows signs of a disordered condition who is badly out of adjustment with his group. To aid him to correct this situation is of great importance. Sometimes it can be remedied by getting a second boy to associate with him and be helpful. He may let this friend guide him through the readjustments necessary to give him a new start at school, at church, in his job, or at camp. The disorganized boy needs this kind of a pal. Such a friendship may be the means of opening the way for him to extend his group relationships by joining a new club, or going in for athletics, or off to camp. This plan is known as the "Buddy" system.

When a problem-boy becomes a member of a group, such as a club, a Sunday-school class, or a team, he needs a lot of coaching if he is to fit in and get along. Sometimes it means positive counsel as to what he shall do and how, and at other times it means negative counsel as to what to omit or avoid. Primary groups like those of home, clubs, or cliques are more helpful than secondary or artificial groups in the development of personality.

At the Glenwood Manual Training School, Miss Wanamaker experimented with organizing a group of maladjusted boys for recreation and play. In the process she taught them the mechanisms of successful group relations. After a time at this coaching process, she found that many of the boys were able to get along in normal groups more easily and successfully.

If boys even can help one another, in the ways suggested above, then it is plainly feasible for a boys' worker to develop a staff of adult co-workers as an aid to the more extensive use of this friendly method.

Available college graduates or young business men could be prepared at a series of group meetings to operate the technique which has now been elaborated. After an analysis had previously been made, they could conduct the interviewing. This plan has been tried out in vocational guidance campaigns by the Young Men's Christian Association. The Big Brother Movement attempts something similar but often leaves its agent to use his wits without any technique as a guide. The Optimist Club of Evanston, under the leadership of S. N. Geal, are working a joint program of activities, in addition to individual conferences between the men and boys. A boys' worker must welcome an opportunity like this to multiply his life by acting through others. If he seeks to deal with each case himself, it would be necessary for his social organization to employ a large staff of assistants, instead of just himself, which is more than most of these organizations can afford financially. Leadership courses could be organized in any community in which a boys' worker will volunteer to act as director.

(E) Psycho-Social Analysis. This technique for using the method of the personal interview in an effort to rehabilitate boys during the period of adolescence, who for various reasons are ill adjusted to their surroundings, we shall call *Psycho-Social Analysis.* It is an attempt to apply all that can be learned from both social science and religion to the remaking of personality. Nothing worth the effort seems likely to come from an attempt to distinquish between the psychological and sociological phases of any problem of personality since personality is so largely the product of social interaction. Consequently, it seems that the solution to any problem in personality must be sought in analysis of the relation between that particular individual and its total past and present environment. It should be understood that psycho-social analysis is not applicable to the more difficult cases of mental and social adjustment. They belong to the field of medicine or psychiatry. Only the mild problem cases, such as are rather common to the more observant Sunday-school worker, Y.M.C.A. leader, and scoutmaster should be included.

Almost all groups of boys and young men contain individuals whose standing is precarious, because they do not seem to possess the knack of adjusting or readjusting themselves to the ways of the group. There is every reason to believe that many of these individuals could put up a winning fight, if only teachers and parents would understand and use the technique required to get to the bottom of the trouble. Too frequently the only help offered is general advice. The boy is told to "brace up," and work harder, or leave.

If an older boy has openly failed repeatedly in the work of adjusting and organizing his life, whether by stealing, excessive spending, or running away, it is time to do more than just scold or punish him. The possibility of the organization of clinics in personality in connection with the regular boys' work carried on by Y.M.C.A.s, churches, settlements and Boys' Clubs is well worth considering under certain circumstances. Instead of a card in the file bearing a boy's name, address and a record of fees paid, there would be a folder available for the guidance of the leader with data from interviews, visits to his home and school, and in certain cases his own written account of his life history. Instead of being content to render the minimum service to the largest number, these institutions would begin to give more lasting service to individuals as persons.

E. Study and Research

Some people seem to possess an almost ineradicable desire to make other people over in accord with their own notion of what is right or best. This spirit is extremely pronounced in the religious bigot, in the dominating teacher, in the intolerant missionary, and in the dogmatic parent. These people keep pestering children to make them more submissive, more receptive to their adult ideas. They are sure that they have discovered the way of life, the ultimate truth, and they reason that the best thing they can do for their children is to hand over this reliable navigation chart for their souls to them now, just as they plan their property to protect them from poverty after their own death. Forming the acquaintance of this technique will check this propensity to curb the free development of a child's personality.

Furthermore, in actual practice, those who work with boys do not distinguish, as a rule, between the separate and conflicting techniques appropriate respectively in discipline, education, and in religion, but mix them all together into a "hodge-podge." They do "what seems advisable" and trust to luck afterwards that something of value has been accomplished. Questions of conduct and behavior need to be divided properly into their component parts. Synthetic chemistry can make almost any substance found in nature in the laboratory and many not to be found there. A time may come when a similar knowledge of how to mix the ingredients will enable us to do much the same thing with personality within broad limits. But as things stand there is too much of the haphazard about our present work with boys. Without painstaking effort to learn enough of a boy's capacities to know *what he can do,* it is risky business to decide *what he ought to do.* This is much more obligatory before telling him *what he must do.*

In the preceding exposition of techniques for building character and personality, no claim is made for completeness.

1. There is a need for additional case studies of the varied ways that social and economic conditions influence personality. Many of the deprivations and inhibitions of the growing child in the average family are due to the fact that the father could not afford something needed. To this end a comparative study of a large number of life histories raising this problem is desirable. These studies should cover the lives of boys who are sons of immigrants, of farmers, and of the wealthy, as well as those who come from homes of poverty, of ministers, or of broken families.

2. The religious have always been especially zealous to remake people. The prime objective of religion has been a radical change in the lives of boys, and to this end its technique has emphasized

"ideals," "emotional expressions," "life purpose." It would take religious patterns of living and convert them into what Benjamin Kidd in his book, *The Science of Power,* calls "the emotion of the ideal." This is done most effectively through hero worship among boys. Much the same process is applied to the Christ ideal or the perfect life. The emphasis on "personal accountability" for conduct to parents, and ultimately to God, becomes a strong factor of control. Closely linked with personal accountability is the emphasis on "rewards and punishment," most commonly summed up in the terms, Heaven or Hell. The "joy of being saved" is a compensation on which stress is often laid. The value put upon "decision" has always played an important rôle; in fact, once a decision for the Christian life was made, little else sometimes was required. Religion sought to study an individual by giving him a great "life purpose" to which to cling. How to apply this technique of religion to effecting changes in the lives of the present types of boys needs additional study and experimentation.

3. Some adults place the emphasis in dealing with boys on discipline. They use a form of military technique. Their shibboleth is "authority," with a resultant desire for rather complete "submissiveness" on the part of the boy. They are content to have the child passive and the adult active in the process. Correct behavior on the part of the child is to be secured by the various types of "praise and punishment." Those who believe in this style of training stake everything on the formation of habits by the repeated acts of the child. Some coercion may be

necessary at first to secure the repetitions, but once the boy has formed the habit, he will not depart, they say, from its path. Much emphasis naturally is placed upon obedience and respect for those in authority. This method may fairly be termed a method of "external control." How far is this method effective?

4. Modern education is introducing and using a quite different technique for getting results with children. Its starting point is some display of "interest" on the part of the child, and it encourages the exercise of "free choice" within limits. The concept "purposeful activity" is also an element basic to this plan. It seeks to aid the child to cope with the actual situations and issues which it encounters. Life is made and shaped by experiences, so education tries to devise "development experiences" leading to "growth." The child is encouraged "to plan" and "to think" for itself. Modern education believes that if a technique can be developed that will be of more assistance to the child in learning to think and to find the way of life for himself, then it will have done its duty better by him. Those who value highly liberty of thought for themselves will not be so anxious to impress their own opinions on others, particularly on children. They will not play the part of cheap propagandists in work with boys, but will be truly teachers eager to supply them with developmental opportunities and encouragement to think and to choose for themselves. In the main, the task of parent, teacher, and boys' worker is that of coöperation, with the boy taking the initiative rather than making demands that the boy

coöperate with them. There is a happy medium between the extreme views on this point, which it is well to bear in mind. The complete "emancipation of childhood" from adult direction is perhaps not possible nor is it desirable. Gather data to analyze the points of strength and weakness in this technique.

5. Furthermore, there is a real need for children to learn skill in social living—how to share in common tasks which involve a certain amount of "give and take." No one, child or man, can always have his own way; he must learn how to give in to what is best for the group. The process is complex. Definite rules cannot be worked out. What is best depends on the right reading of the situation in hand. However, it is well to remember that personality seems to grow most effectively in an atmosphere, relatively speaking, of social freedom. What technique is used to carry out this coöperative viewpoint? What makes it effective?

6. Another task which social psychology has still to complete is that of getting at the full meaning of life from the boy's viewpoint. What does a boy really think about his home? His pals? Stealing? Football? It is what he thinks deep inside which determines very largely how he is going to feel toward his home, his friends, or about athletics, etc. How do the various aspects of life come to take on meaning for the boy? Why do they come to vary in meaning to different boys? What techniques serve best to convey to boys the significant points of a situation? What is the function of "a sense of values" in the reorganization of personality?

7. Analyze with some care from the standpoint of altering social attitudes the methods in use in a boys' camp. An older boys' conference. In running off an athletic program. A boys' club. What criteria would you use to determine what changes were desirable?

8. Definite standards of measurement are available to study the growth of trees. How can we measure the growth or changes in character and personality? Study critically the literature in this field of research.

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